



1988

The Chinese Minority in Thailand: Social and Educational Perspective

Supha Phinaitrup
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss



Part of the [Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Phinaitrup, Supha, "The Chinese Minority in Thailand: Social and Educational Perspective" (1988).
Dissertations. 2547.

https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/2547

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 1988 Supha Phinaitrup

Supha Phinaitrup

Loyola University of Chicago

THE CHINESE MINORITY IN THAILAND

A SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL

PERSPECTIVE

This dissertation uses documentary sources to develop a narrative history of the Chinese minority in Thailand. Special emphasis is placed on formal and informal education as a means of providing continuity for the Chinese minority. The study concludes with the observation that the forces of cultural assimilation have tended to reduce the uniqueness of the Chinese in Thailand.

This dissertation discusses how the Chinese established their culture in Thailand's society. The Chinese in Thailand assumed important roles in commerce, industry and society. Initially, they wanted to ensure that their children would be brought up as Chinese by maintaining their cultural identity and cultural status within their own community. Chapter II examines the history of the immigration of Chinese to Thailand by discussing demographics, society and economics. The point is made that the Chinese have concentrated on business enterprises, while the Thais have gravitated toward agriculture and government service. The writer also examines the problem of population growth. However, in recent years, Thailand's government has developed policies to lower the rate of population growth by such special programs as family planning.

Chapter III examines informal education. In maintaining

their culture Chinese voluntarily fraternities and business associations are of significance. It was these voluntary associations that facilitated the Chinese in making a cultural adaptation to Thai society. After this initial adaptation was accomplished, the association continued to advance the interest of the Chinese minority. They provided services to their members and acted as an intermediary between the Chinese community and the Thai government.

In chapter IV, the Chinese and Education examines schooling. The Chinese in Thailand began their children's education at home and at Chinese temples, where they were taught by Chinese teachers. In 1892, the first Chinese school was built. By 1933, there were 271 Chinese schools in existence. The Thai government became concerned about the rapid increase of Chinese schools. Finally, the Thai government passed the Private Act, which required that Chinese schools had to meet certain requirements or otherwise be subject to closing.

After the contexts of Thai history and the Chinese entry into Thailand are examined, both informal and formal education relating to Chinese participation is discussed. This dissertation concludes with a treatment of "The changing situation" of the Chinese minority. The conclusion is that the Chinese remain an ethnic group in Thailand despite their experiencing a considerable degree of assimilation.

DEDICATION

To my mom, Kahuay Lee

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The encouragement of many people made this dissertation successful. I am particularly grateful to the members of my committee, Dr. John M. Wozniak, Dr. Gerald L. Gutek and Dr. Steven I. Miller for their advice, encouragement and support through the preparation of this dissertation. Their critical comments and constant help throughout the writing of this dissertation have been most valuable. I am indebted to them for their assistance and valuable suggestions. Words cannot describe my appreciation for what these scholars have done for me throughout my doctoral education at Loyola University.

I would like to thank Dr. Todd J. Hoover for his advice and encouragement and also extend my thanks to Dr. Philip M. Carlin. I would like to thank my friends and colleagues for continuing encouragement until this dissertation was completed. I also would like to thank my mom, my sisters and my friends in Thailand for their understanding encouragement and support during the process of this study, particularly, during my last two trips to Bangkok, Thailand, to collect the data needed to prepare this dissertation.

Finally, I would like to thank my niece, Boon-Anan Phinaitrup, who performed ably as my typist for this dissertation.

VITA

The author, Supha Phinaitrup, is a daughter of Kahuay Sae Lee and Ngek Peng Sae Tae of Bangkok, Thailand. She obtained her elementary and secondary education in Bangkok. She came to the United States in December 1968. She attended Central YMCA Community College of Chicago and received her Associate of Arts Degree in Mathematics in January 1970.

In January 1970, she entered Northeast Missouri State University, Kirksville, Missouri. On May 27, 1971 she received her Bachelor of Science Degree in Mathematics. She continued her education at Northeast Missouri State University and completed her Master of Arts Degree on August 11, 1972. In summer 1982, she entered Loyola University of Chicago for her Doctoral Degree and completed her degree in 1987.

From 1974 to 1982, she was employed as a full-time instructor at Central YMCA Community College. While she was working as a mathematics instructor, she was named teacher of the year in 1974. In 1981, she was elected unanimously as a chairperson of the Mathematics Department and served until May 1982.

From 1983 to 1984, she worked full-time as a mathematics instructor at Loyola University of Chicago.

Since 1984, she has been a full-time mathematics instructor at East-West University, where she serves as Director of Mathematics.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
VITA.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER	
I	INTRODUCTION..... 1
	Statement of the problem..... 1
	Definition of terms..... 7
	Methodology..... 9
	Economics..... 10
	Society..... 12
	Summary..... 14
II	THAILAND: AN OVERVIEW
	Land..... 16
	Population..... 18
	Economy and Society..... 27
	Education..... 28
	Education after King Chulalongkorn..... 32
	The Present Educational System in Thailand..... 38
	Conclusion..... 42
	Summary..... 43
III	THE CHINESE IN THAILAND
	The Chinese in Thai History..... 45
	Chinese family life..... 52
	Chinese organizations..... 54
	Chinese occupations..... 58
	Summary..... 63
IV	CHINESE AND EDUCATION
	Historical background..... 64
	The Chinese school in Thailand..... 74
	Higher Education in Thailand..... 81
	Development and Expansion of Higher Education..... 88
	Summary..... 91
V	THE CHANGING SITUATION
	In the nineteenth century..... 97
	Attitude changes in the twentieth century.. 100
	Present problems and issues..... 105
	Summary..... 109
VI	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION..... 111

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....

118

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Immigration and Naturalization.....	3
2 Ethnic Occupational Specialization by major categories.....	11
3 Estimated population of Thailand in 1970, 1977 and 1981.....	24
4 Educational planning agencies.....	37
5 Present educational system in Thailand.....	41
6 Declared occupations of incoming male Chinese aliens.....	60
7 Occupational categories.....	61
8 Chinese immigration by sex, Thailand.....	67
9 Number of Chinese Schools in Thailand from 1934-1938.....	69
10 Number of Chinese Schools in Thailand.....	72
11 The growth of schools under government encouragement.....	75
12 Chinese schools in Thailand and in Bangkok province.....	77
13 Teachers in registered Chinese schools.....	80
14 Enrollments in Higher Education Institutions under the Office of State Universities (1970-75).....	86
15 Administrative structure of the education system 1971.....	87
16 Enrollment at the Bachelor's Degree Level.....	93
17 Distribution of Thai Higher Education Institutions by Regions (1983).....	94
18 Number of Enrollment in Higher Education Institutions during Four National Development Plans.....	95

19	Change in Undergraduate Enrollment in Government Higher Education Institutions.....	96
----	--	----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 Age and Sex Structure of Population.....	25
2 Population 6 years of age and over by level of educational completed.....	26

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

The purpose of this study is to critically research and analyze the development of Chinese education in Thailand from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present. As part of the analysis, the study will answer such focusing questions as:

1) What were the historic origins of the Chinese minority in Thailand?

2) What is the size, socioeconomic and political status of the Chinese minority?

3) What are the strategies by which the Chinese minority maintains its identity?

4) What educational institutions, agencies, and processes are used to perpetuate Chinese identity and culture?

The Chinese are the largest minority group in Thailand, as shown in Table 1. In some cultural respects, they may appear to be incompatible with assimilation into Thai society. The Thais and Chinese are quite different in their society, customs, language and family and kinship groups. The Chinese in Thailand have always sought to have their own educational system conducted through the medium of the Chinese language. Hence, this brought about the growth of a separate and distinctive Chinese educational system within Thailand which has contributed

to the maintenance of a cultural distinctiveness among the Chinese.

The Chinese have assumed important jobs in Thailand today. They enjoy high status in industry, politics, and society, particularly in commerce and trade. Moreover, the Thai politicians who are concerned about Chinese cultural distinctiveness are often themselves part Chinese. For instance, they often can identify ancestors who were Chinese. The Chinese in Thailand, like their ethnic counterparts in other nations of Southeast Asia, have organized schools for their children to obtain primary, secondary and higher education within the cultural boundaries of Chinese community. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Chinese schools were separated from Thai. For example, Kwang-Choa and Pei-Ming were famous Chinese schools in Thai history. However, these once famous schools no longer exist as Chinese schools today.

Immigration and Naturalization

ALIENS REGISTERED BY NATIONALITY AND SEX : FISCAL YEARS 1978-1983

2521 (1978)		2522 (1979)		2523 (1980)		2524 (1981)		2525 (1982)		2526 (1983)		Nationality
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
220,897	115,545	219,589	115,718	216,676	113,532	214,213	112,830	210,513	111,374	207,825	109,988	Total
197,282	104,113	195,583	104,047	192,303	101,756	188,599	100,491	185,837	99,100	183,287	97,946	Chinese
3,126	1,620	3,084	1,616	3,046	1,612	3,028	1,597	4,981	1,509	4,856	1,503	Indian
1,953	1,102	1,924	1,144	1,874	1,127	1,833	1,093	1,830	1,044	1,796	1,072	Vietnamese
1,933	606	1,931	606	1,929	607	1,926	609	1,926	610	1,930	610	Japanese
669	436	672	438	677	438	680	441	674	450	672	444	Burmese
688	453	691	457	693	456	693	463	697	454	693	464	Philippino
666	429	666	432	661	432	658	434	652	433	654	436	Malaysian
538	233	534	253	532	254	532	249	534	254	533	255	Indonesian
493	94	481	95	474	93	452	103	457	42	456	91	Pakistani
159	117	157	118	158	118	158	117	159	120	158	121	Singaporean
94	75	95	77	95	78	95	78	95	77	93	50	Laotian
73	52	74	52	74	52	76	51	75	53	73	50	Cambodian
582	301	572	297	566	299	729	301	614	409	544	314	Other Asian
3,614	1,695	3,614	1,700	3,631	1,704	3,630	1,706	3,600	1,703	3,603	1,698	British
750	472	753	472	754	472	753	473	753	473	755	474	German
701	383	701	382	701	381	701	382	698	381	695	385	Dutch

Source : Alien Registration and Taxation Division, Police Department, Ministry of Interior.

Immigration and Naturalization

ALIENS REGISTERED BY NATIONALITY AND SEX (Contd.)

2521 (1978)		2522 (1979)		2523 (1980)		2524 (1981)		2525 (1982)		2526 (1983)		Nationality
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
693	571	695	571	698	573	694	567	692	567	719	566	Portuguese
624	354	626	355	626	354	626	354	625	350	623	352	French
600	281	601	283	603	283	603	283	603	295	602	284	Danish
342	181	342	183	344	182	345	182	345	182	340	185	Swiss
301	286	303	287	303	288	304	289	305	289	306	290	Swedish
709	494	713	495	714	495	830	486	715	496	719	493	Other European
1,690	553	1,695	558	1,694	556	1,895	559	1,693	553	1,696	564	American
103	113	103	114	103	116	102	112	102	116	102	116	North American
17	21	17	21	17	19	15	19	17	20	17	22	South American
331	331	332	332	334	332	336	332	336	332	337	332	Australian
94	83	96	83	95	83	95	83	95	83	96	83	Other Australian
22	29	22	29	21	29	17	27	23	29	23	29	African
60	47	512	221	956	343	1,816	997	1,380	748	1,467	754	Nationality Unknown

Source : Alien Registration and Taxation Division, Police Department, Ministry of Interior.

The educational system in Thailand has always reflected the aims and expectations of the ruling class. Chinese and Thai parental influence on career choice is demonstrated in the way that both groups encourage their children to enter the field of the parents' choice, especially at university level. While many students want to continue in higher education, however, according to Watson, only 25 percent of students who finished upper secondary school continue their higher education since stringent entrance examination limit the number admitted into a university.¹

Many contemporary young Chinese are interested in occupations that offer more prestige, honor, higher social status and lucrative financial advantages than those pursued by their ancestors. Chinese youth are represented well beyond their national proportion in the medical and scientific professions.² For example, the report of the Joint Higher Education Examination, Academic year 1969 - 1970, listed the percentage of Chinese students enrolled in various areas. There were 15 percent Chinese students enrolled in the Department of Political Science; 35 percent in the Department of Accountancy; and 50 percent in the Department of Medicine.

In contrast to the Thais, the Chinese minority has controlled commerce and trade. Agriculture is the primary occupation in

¹ K. Watson, Education Development in Thailand (Hongkong, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia, 1980), p. 199.

² J.J. Valenti, "Current Problems and Development in Thailand," International Review of Education 20 (1974):79.

Thailand, with most of the Thai population engaged in rice cultivation. The export of rice has been the major element in the commercialization and simultaneous monetization of the Thai economy. Rice cultivation has been largely responsible for expansion of agricultural production to the far areas of the country.

According to Coughlin, Thais were compelled to pay high prices to the Chinese for certain necessities. For example, Thais often sold their rice to Chinese merchants who made profits without passing on a share to the Thai farmers. The Chinese also raised prices on the cost of goods as far as the Thais were concerned. This practice had an impact on the employees in the Thai government who had fixed incomes which made it difficult to purchase needed goods.³

At one time, because of their tendency to live apart, to speak their own language, and to observe ancestral traditions rather than adopt or assimilate new customs, the Chinese minority in Thailand threatened to become a problem to the country.

To trace the development of the factors mentioned above, the writer will examine the growth of the Chinese population and the changes that have occurred in Chinese education since 1921 because of the enactment of the compulsory education laws. The writer will also examine how the educational system has been influenced by the social, economic, cultural and community

³ R.J. Coughlin, Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand (Hongkong: Hongkong University Press, 1960), p. 2.

structure in Thailand and will comment on its effects on the Chinese minority.

Definition of terms

In this section, some of the basic terms used in this dissertation are examined. The standard definition of culture is a way of life of a people; their various behavioral patterns and how these are communicated by language or symbolic forms through participation of individuals in society. Culture usually has a two-fold division: material culture, which is tangible and concrete includes all kinds of objects, whether raw material or manufactured products.⁴ Nonmaterial culture is intangible and comprises the types of behavior, knowledge, customs, beliefs, habits, mores, folkways, political ideas, prejudices, and religious beliefs.

In applying these definitions to the Chinese in Thailand, it must be noted that their cultural characteristics are quite different from those of the Thais. For example, different cultures use tools adapted to specific needs. The Thai use spoons, the Chinese use chopsticks and the Americans use forks and knives. Or in terms of saying "How are you?" when they meet, the Chinese say "Did you eat?" while Thais say "Where have you been?." There are also, for example, different religious practices, funeral observances, forms of worship and marriage

⁴ E. Reinhardt, American Education: An Introduction (New York: Harper and Brothers Publisher, 1954), pp. 16-17.

ceremonies.

On the other hand, Thai culture made it possible for Chinese immigrants, their children and particularly their grandchildren, to bridge social boundaries and to achieve the status of "ethnic Thais" by assuming many of their cultural characteristics. Of course, differences between being "Thai" and being "Chinese" are still recognized, but since the achievement of Thai cultural status was not ascriptive nor closed to children of mixed Sino-Thai marriages, they could decide to identify as either Thai or Chinese. They could not be both.⁵

Over time, the Chinese who lived in Thailand for some time and had become successful in business and built up their status moved up to higher positions in government. When most Chinese came to Thailand, they were employed in jobs that deal with commerce and trade rather than professional or government service positions in the economy. The Chinese built up a strong economic position and eventually moved up to finance, banking, and government positions. Through their expanding role in the economic sector, the Chinese eventually came to enjoy success in Thai society.⁶

The cultural characteristics of Thais and Chinese are different and they have historically maintained distinct sub-

⁵ G.W. Skinner and A.T. Kirsch, Change and Persistence in Thai Society (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 192-93.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 193-94.

societies. The Thais have consistently preferred agriculture, governmental service, and self-employment to other occupations. Chinese immigrants and their descendants, on the other hand, have shown an equally strong preference for commercial activities of all kinds: industry, finance, mining and wage labor. These occupational preferences explain the geographical segregation of Thais and Chinese within the cities and most of the larger towns. Moreover, the Chinese family tends to maintain itself as a unique and separate cultural unit.

Methodology. The methodology used in this dissertation is primarily documentary. It involves an analysis of selected government reports, books, and articles that examine the history, development, and current status of the Chinese minority in Thailand. This dissertation also includes demographic and statistical materials that are used to explain and elaborate on historic trends.

The method used has been to establish the general economic, social, and educational context of Thailand. This context is established in Chapter II, "Thailand: An Overview." The history of the immigration of Chinese to Thailand is treated in Chapter III, "The Chinese in Thailand." After the contexts of Thai history and the Chinese entry into Thailand are examined, both informal and formal education relating to Chinese participation is discussed. This dissertation concludes with a treatment of "The changing situation" of the Chinese minority. The conclusion is that the Chinese remain an ethnic group in Thailand despite

their experiencing a considerable degree of assimilation.

Economic. The Chinese minority group in Thailand plays an important role in the economy of the country, particularly in commerce and finance. As Skinner pointed out, the five most influential Chinese banking families manage more than 50 percent of Thailand's private sector.⁷ With the advent of increased modernization and a greatly expanding economy, Chinese immigrants have continued development of their business and finance while Thais have continued to engage in agriculture and governmental jobs. For the past three decades, the Thai government had not interfered with this process, and, as a result, the Chinese minority group in Thailand controlled a major portion of the economy of the country (See Table 2).

⁷ G.W. Skinner, Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 177.

TABLE 2

ETHNIC OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION BY MAJOR CATEGORIES

Occupational category	Ethnic Chinese		Ethnic Thai	
	No.	%	No.	%
Government	30	0.02	43,630	26.87
Professions	3,160	1.59	8,760	5.39
Commerce and finance	100,720	50.84	41,260	25.41
Industry and artisan	38,450	19.41	9,880	6.08
Domestic and service	19,310	9.75	24,540	15.11
Agriculture	2,350	1.19	6,710	4.13
Unskilled labor	<u>34,100</u>	<u>17.21</u>	<u>27,600</u>	<u>17.00</u>
Total	198,120	100.00	162,380	99.99

Source: Krungthep Municipal Office, Bangkok Thailand, 1952.

As indicated earlier, Thailand's economy is based on productive agriculture in which most of the Thai population is engaged. Labor, other than agriculture, as previously mentioned, has been performed by the Chinese since they do not object to long hours of hard work. Since the Chinese control most of the larger scale developments in the rice business, and also control shipping, the Thais have had to pay the market rates set by the Chinese. Likewise, from time to time, Thai farmers have had to borrow money from the Chinese in order to live between sowing (June) and harvest times (November or December). In addition, after the harvest, it has usually been the Chinese dealer who has bought the products and transported them to the mills in Bangkok. Thus, the Chinese have played a dominant role in Thailand as money-lenders and middlemen. Because of these developments, the Thai government has passed stiff economic measures against money-lenders and middlemen, with the Chinese suffering the most under these laws.

Society. Society can be defined as the organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life. Members of society tend to perform specific actions according to learned patterns of behavior. The Chinese come from a tradition of strong social organization. Consequently, they have come to be dominant in developing trade associations as well as displaying industriousness and willingness to work hard. The Chinese community, particularly the one in Bangkok, is so self-sufficient that the individual is relieved of making more than superficial

compromises with the demands of Thai society. The Thai and Chinese remain quite different in terms of their culture and language. In the eighteenth century, when more intermarriage with Thais was well accepted, the majority of Chinese immigrants were absorbed into Thai society. The children of these intermarriages were called "Look jin" (children of China-born father and Thai mother). If the Chinese mastered the Thai language and adopted Thai names, they in effect became Thai. Traditionally, it has been common for the Chinese to acquire status in a given society. However, according to Coughlin, the Chinese in Thailand have been able to cooperate to the degree that they have been absorbed into conditions of Thai society.⁸

Certain social factors are particularly important in facilitating assimilation. Common economic purpose binds a group together. People who can earn a living in the same business may share many common interests. The Chinese, who are concentrated in Bangkok, play an important economic role which has influenced other developments throughout the entire society. At the same time, many Chinese immigrants who want to become a part of Thai society begin the process of assimilation by first attending the local Thai Wat or temple. The Wat is a good place for Chinese businessmen to seek power in both Thai and Chinese societies and to meet other leaders in the community. The Chinese immigrants who enter Thailand have become adept at assimilating themselves

⁸ R.J Coughlin, Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand (Hongkong: Hongkong University Press, 1960), viii.

within Thai society. Consequently, they have assumed important positions in the higher circles of commerce, government and education.

Summary

This chapter discussed how the Chinese established their culture in Thailand's society. The Chinese and Thais were different in customs and language. The Chinese wanted their own educational system to be distinctive and maintain their own culture. The Chinese built up their status in Thailand, taking on important roles in commerce, industry, society and politics. The Chinese became middlemen in Thailand for any merchandise bought or sold, especially in agriculture. The Chinese in Thailand wanted to work hard for their own earnings and be able to successfully participate. They wanted to make sure that their children would be brought up as Chinese by learning their Chinese cultural identity. They wanted to maintain their cultural status within their own community. The Chinese have continued development of their business enterprises, while the Thais have gravitated toward agriculture and government service.

Chapter II provides an overview of Thai history, demographics, society and economy for purposes of special context is placed on education, in regard to this group.

CHAPTER II

THAILAND: AN OVERVIEW

The general historical description that follows is intended to provide a context for examining the position of the Chinese minority within Thai culture and society. Thailand is a small independent country in Southeast Asia and Bangkok (City of Angles) is the capital. Thailand, which means the "Land of the Free," is a bright mosaic of green jungles and brown canals, and of iridescent temples sparkling in the sun. The country also has a very advantageous location for agriculture. Importantly, Thailand is the only country in the region which has never been colonized by a Western power. This undoubtedly accounts for its unique character which has been continually developed during more than seven hundred years of cherished independence. In contrast, such neighboring countries as Burma to the West and Malaysia to the South were once English colonies. Likewise, Laos and Cambodia to the North and East, respectively, were once colonies of France.

Today, the people of Thailand are called Thai. Before 1939, they were known politically as the "Siamese" and their country as "Siam." In June 1939, the name Siam was changed to Thailand. This change of name reflected the patriotic movement of the time which was nurtured by the fact that the country had been able to maintain political independence from Western powers during the

nineteenth century, in contrast to its neighboring countries which were colonized by Western powers. On the other hand, modern Thai history is as much a product of the interplay of forces released by the impact of the West as it is of the constraints imposed by that Western impact.

In terms of its religious heritage, the Buddhist way of life is an integral part of the national life of Thailand. There, obviously, is a close relationship between the monarchy, the government, the educational system, and the Buddhist religion. The religion of the Chinese and Thai is similar. Both people are Buddhist, although specific religious practices differ. The Thai government, since the era of absolute monarchy, has maintained a positive policy toward assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society.

Thailand is a constitutional monarchy. The King, under the constitution, is the formal head of state. Legislative power is exercised by the House of People's Representatives. The executive power is exercised through the council of ministers, and the judicial power established by law is exercised through the courts.

Land

Thailand is divided into four geographical regions:

1. The continental Highlands, or Northern Thailand, is mountainous with fertile valleys and plains suitable for growing teak. On the north, Thailand is bounded by Burma and Laos.

2. The extensive central Thailand area is located in the fertile Chao Praya basin, the head of the delta where the great waterway empties into the Gulf of Thailand. It is here that Bangkok is located. This is the most important part of the country because Bangkok is the center of trade, education, communication, and the capital of Thailand. Most of the government employees wish to live in Bangkok where their chances for promotion are greater. Most of the business in Bangkok is controlled by wealthy Chinese businessmen, and everywhere in Bangkok a cluster of Chinese shops forms the business area. Through the centuries, the Chinese have remained in their preferred occupations in commercial fields. At the present time, the Chinese continue to play a very important role in the Thai economic structure.

3. The Northeastern region is the driest part of the country. The dry and barren plateau of the northeast is bordered by mountains which make it the least productive region in the country and the least modernized in Thailand.

4. Southern Thailand receives heavy rainfall and it is the area of rubber, tropical crops, and tin, which is the most important mineral for the country. In the South, Thailand is bordered by Malaysia, and it is also a mountainous region.

Thailand consists of 514,000 square kilometers (about 200,000 square miles) which makes the country roughly the size of France or considerably larger than Japan or the states of California and New York combined. Its shape is like an axe with a

long handle.

Thailand is a tropical country with rather high temperatures and humidity. The climate of the country as a whole is dominated by monsoons. There are three seasons in Thailand, namely: winter, summer and the rainy season from May through September; and the dry season is for the remainder of the year.

Population

From 1911 to 1976 the population of Thailand increased from 8.3 million to 43.3 a five-fold increase in sixty-five years. In 1976, the population in Thailand was estimated at 43.3 million with an annual rate of increase of 2.5 percent a year.¹

The latest census taken in 1980 and reported on 31 December, 1980, indicated that the population of Thailand was 46,961,338. There are 23,627,727 males and 23,333,611 females. Compared to the population in 1979, the Thai population has increased by 847,582 persons or 1.82 percent. Bangkok is the most populated area with approximately 5,153,902 people.²

The dominant ethnic group in Thailand is the Thai who subscribe to Theraveda Buddhism. The Chinese, the largest minority group in Thailand, constitute about 10 percent of the population. Besides the Chinese, the other significant minority

¹ Population Reference Bureau, 1979 World Population Data Sheet (Washington D.C.)

² Thai News, The Royal Thai Embassy, Washington, D.C. Friday March 27, 1981. p. 8.

ethnic groups are Malay (Muslim), Vietnamese, Lao, Burmese, Indian and Cambodian. Most of the commerce sector in Thailand is controlled by the Chinese, especially in Bangkok. The Chinese have long dominated most of the nation's commercial enterprises, and they have kept control within their families. The lower middle class is comprised largely of Thai craftsman, farmers and skilled workers, and lower ranks of government employees. Farming is the dominant economic activity of the population, and the economy of Thailand depends almost exclusively on the production of rice.

Thailand, like most of the developing countries, exhibits the pattern of overpopulation rather than depopulation. The tremendous growth in Thailand's population has extended over a century. The rapid population growth rate has been recognized as a problem by the government since 1958 when the World Bank Economic Mission pointed out that the rate of population growth was adversely affecting Thailand's development efforts.³

The Thai government has developed the policy of supporting voluntary family planning in order to resolve various problems associated with the high rate of population growth, which constitutes an important obstacle to socioeconomic development. In 1961, the Thai government decided that birth control was an individual concern and that the distribution of birth control devices would be done privately rather than under state auspices.

³ National Family Planning Program Ministry of Public Health, Family Planning in Thailand 1965-71. (Bangkok: Nai Chalongs Kritakom Printer, 1972), p. 3.

In 1963, the government began a serious effort to study methods of population control, and soon after that the first National Population Seminar was held. A family planning project was established by the National Research Council and the Ministry of Public Health under the name of "The Family Health Research Project."⁴ A field survey was conducted in 1964, and a pilot project, the Potharam Family Planning Project, was established in Bangkok. Family action research in the Potharam district gave strong encouragement to similar action research in the other parts of the country.

During the years 1964 through 1966, a survey of population change was done by the National Statistical Office and the United States Agency for International Development. In 1955, the First Bangkok Family Planning Clinic was opened at the Thai Red Cross, Chulalongkorn Hospital. In 1966, the Second National Population Seminar was held by the National Research Council, and the present International Postpartum Program, Family Clinic Activities, Institute of Population Studies, and Institute for Population and Social Research were created. Chulalongkorn Hospital, with the cooperation of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, adopted the Mobile Family Planning Clinic in 1967, to extend family planning services in suburban and rural

⁴ Random Settection, "The Problem of Population Growth in Thailand: With Emphasis on Food Production and Family Planning" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967), p. 135.

areas.⁵

Early in 1970, Thai agencies and the Population Council worked cooperatively and actively to persuade the government to accept population and family planning as national policy. Finally on March 17, 1970, the Royal Thai Cabinet announced an official national population policy which called for the lowering of the excessively high rate of population growth through the voluntary practice of family planning. Following the announcement of this national population policy, a five-year plan (1972-1976) was developed with the basic objective of reducing the population growth rate from over 3.0 percent to 2.5 percent by the end of 1976 through the provision of family planning information and services throughout the country.⁶

The educational activities that followed the declaration of population policy were not implemented until after 1970. The first active educational program with population components was the functional literacy and family life education project launched by the Adult Education Division, Ministry of Education in 1970. The curricular flexibility of this out-of-school program and its less formalized administrative structure, in contrast to the more formal school system, enabled this program to begin earlier than the in-school program. The curriculum of this program was designed to meet the needs of adults in their

⁵ National Family Planning Program in Thailand (1965-1971), pp. 3-4.

⁶ Ministry of Public Health, pp. 49-51.

communities. The concept-oriented curriculum was based on the problems of the rural population, with major emphasis on the formation of positive attitudes to adult literacy among the rural population.⁷ This program also included the Chinese minority which traditionally has produced large families and a large increase in population.

Table 3 shows a breakdown by age groups of the population of Thailand for the years 1970, 1971 and 1981. It suggests projections on how the birth rate might decline.

Figure 1 shows a break down by age and sex structure of population in different fifteen groups. Figure 2 shows population six years of age and over their educational level. The two figures come from the Thailand Population and Housing Census, National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, 1980.

The Population and Housing Census, the largest statistical project of the country, provides basic demographic information on population characteristics as well as living conditions. It also identifies changes in these structures at a given census date within the entire country. It is the most comprehensive source of information about occupational, and educational attainment and fertility estimates of the population that can be obtained at the provincial and district levels. Data obtained from the various censuses are widely used in formulating policy and planning for

⁷ John Middleton, "Population Education in the Asian Region: A Conference on Needs and Directions" Report of the International Conference on Population Education in Asian Region, 1974 (Tagtavtav City, Philippines: The Development Academy of the Philippines, 1974), p. 213.

the well-being of the population, especially in areas such as public health, education, energy, production and consumption among various government agencies and in the private sector.

The 1980 census was an extensive and complicated statistical operation involving the planning stage, field work, data processing, report preparation and analysis of the data. To ensure that the data obtained from the census conformed as much as possible to the needs of data users, many valuable suggestions and comments were contributed by a special Advisory Committee on the 1980 Population and Housing Census.

The success of the 1980 census is, in a large part, due to the close cooperation of various government agencies and institutions, particularly the public and those who work in the mass media.

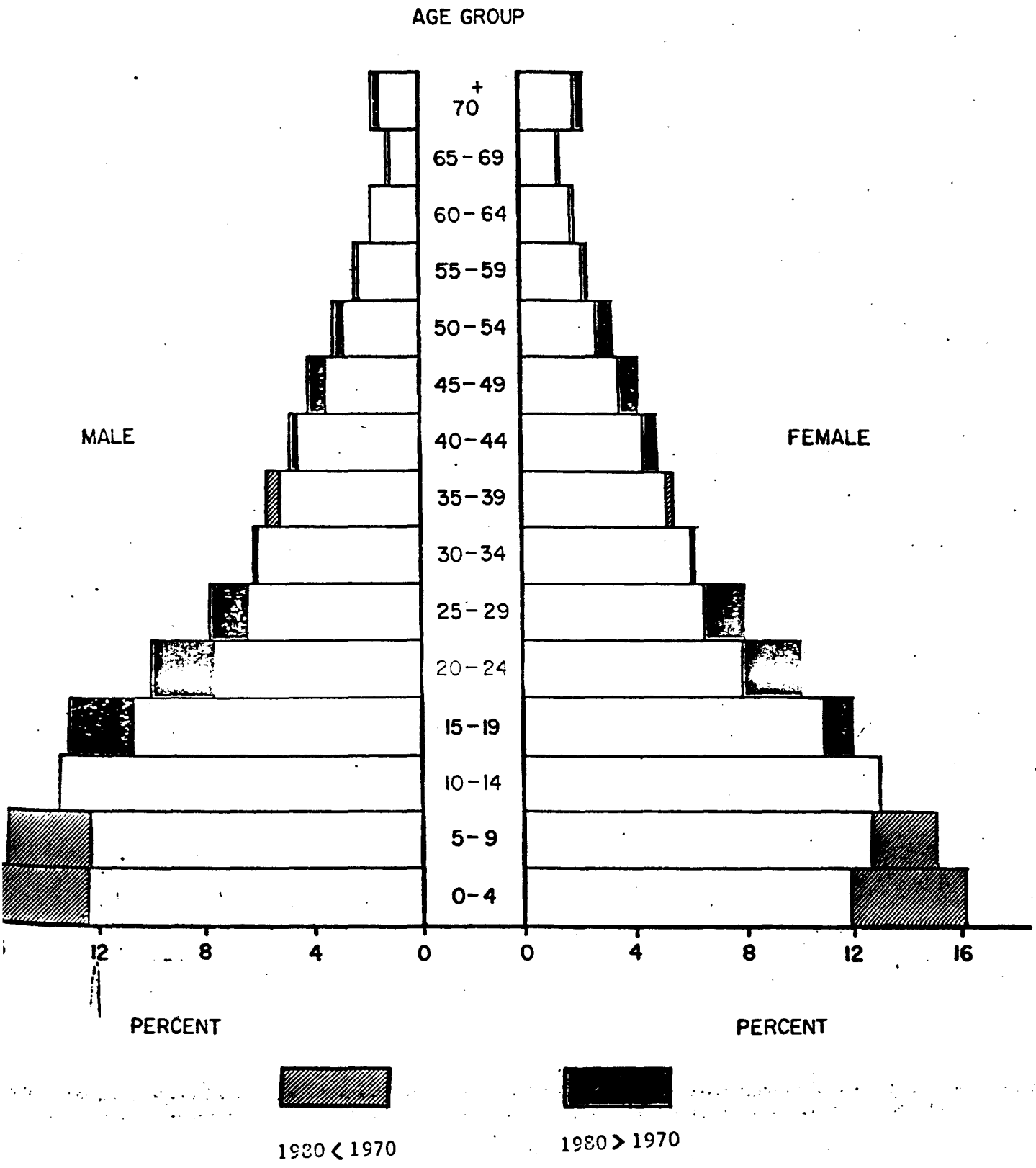
TABLE 3

Estimated Population of Thailand in 1970, 1977, 1981
(in thousands)

Age Group	1970		1977		1981	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	3,243	3,113	3,428	3,309	3,357	3,237
5-9	2,746	3,664	3,257	3,145	3,349	3,242
10-14	2,316	2,235	2,904	2,805	3,179	3,068
15-19	2,003	1,935	2,450	2,377	2,787	2,701
20-24	1,702	1,631	2,071	2,002	2,334	2,266
25-29	1,279	1,248	1,772	1,712	1,981	1,922
30-34	985	1,013	1,418	1,371	1,685	1,627
35-39	892	935	1,049	1,055	1,305	1,271
40-44	770	798	867	913	972	994
45-49	649	676	776	821	827	880
50-54	493	518	644	680	715	764
55-59	402	428	498	538	577	624
60-64	303	327	366	404	421	469
65-69	215	241	269	306	298	345
70-upward	253	357	356	476	422	560
Total	18,251	18,119	22,125	21,914	24,209	23,970

(Source: Ministry of Education).

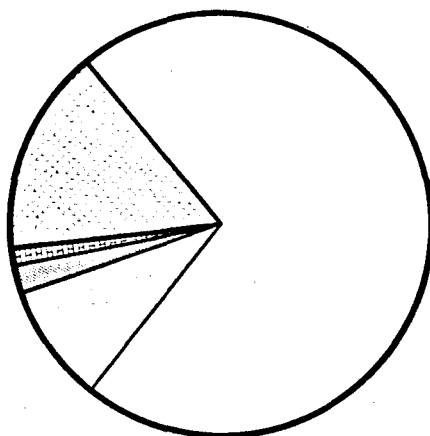
FIGURE 1 AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF POPULATION



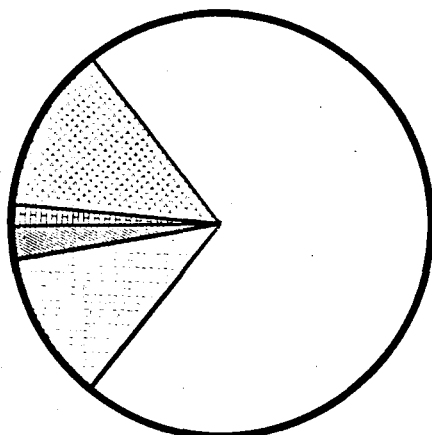
Source: Thailand Statistical yearbook 1980.

FIGURE 2 POPULATION 6 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL COMPLETED

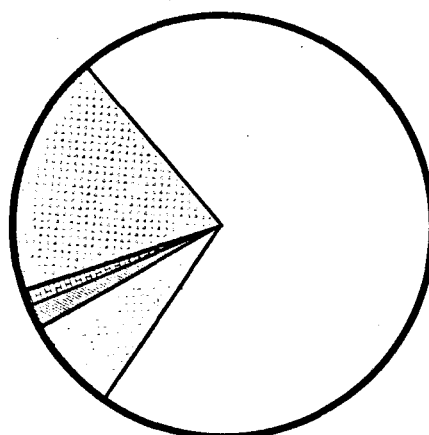
BOTH SEXES



MALE



FEMALE



NO EDUCATION



PRIMARY LEVEL



SECONDARY LEVEL INCLUDED GENERAL, AND VOCATIONAL AND TEACHER TRAINING



UNIVERSITY LEVEL INCLUDED GENERAL, VOCATIONAL AND TEACHER TRAINING



OTHER EDUCATION AND UNKNOWN

NOTE

INCLUDES EACH YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED IN THAT LEVEL

Economy and Society

Thai society is characterized, roughly, by a two-class social structure, consisting of an extremely large agrarian segment and small ruling segment in which the classes are physically as well as economically separated. The majority of Thais are engaged in agriculture which is still the most important sector of the economy. Rice cultivation, the mainstay of the Thai economy for several decades, is the predominant occupation of the rural population. Rice production has an important effect on the urban population since the whole economic index of the country is geared to the rice price. Thai rice exports have had a detrimental effect on the economies of most countries of the region. Thailand's annual rice harvest is therefore of the most importance, not only to Thailand's overall economy, but to that of the whole region. On the other hand, the labor force needed to produce the greater output of rice can be met in part by population growth.

In the early history of the Chinese immigrants, they were well liked and welcomed in Siam. They were especially welcomed by the politically powerful and wealthy Bun Nag family who wanted to rebuild and strengthen Thai society with the help of the Chinese. The Chinese economic influence also grew when the Thai government negotiated treaties with the Western powers in 1850 and 1860. The acceleration of export-import trade contributed to the rise and development of the Chinese merchant class. Because they gained a predominant role in the export trade, the Chinese businesses

rapidly increased.⁸ The Chinese within these three political groups won a virtual monopoly of all retail trade in the country. On the one hand, the Chinese gained a strong economic position which encouraged ethnic enclaves, especially in the urban business districts. On the other hand, the Chinese, over time, have been assimilated into the Thai society.

Thai society, like other societies, identifies people for high status positions by the economic and social standing of their families. Education, especially higher education, also is an important element in obtaining economically and socially rewarding employment. If they graduate from a university, they often move into prestigious positions in Thai society, including high ranking government jobs.⁹ Historically, the Chinese minority has used education for two purposes: (1) to maintain cultural and linguistic identity and; (2) as an agency of socioeconomic mobility. These purposes have often produced contradictory results.

Education

Historical background. The history of education in Thailand may be divided into three periods:

1. The period of traditional education, from 1257 to 1868.
2. The period of educational expansion from 1868 to 1932
3. The contemporary period, from 1932 to the present.

⁸ J.L.S. Girling, Thailand Society and Politics (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 62.

⁹ F.W. Riggs, A Model for the Study of Thai Society 1964, p. 9.

The basis of the present system of Thai education is the product of many historical forces and influences. In the past, the Thai educational system was concentrated around the institutions of the temples (Wats) and the family. The orientation of this education was primarily moral and religious. Parents who wanted their sons to be educated would send them, sometimes as young as ten years old, to study with Buddhist monks in the Wats where they would learn to read and write. During their study in the Wats, the boys would serve the monks and develop a high level of respect for them. While the boys were studying at Wats, the girls were often taught to read and write at home. They were also taught the practical tasks of house keeping, child care and cooking thought to be important in preparing for their future roles as housewives.

It is from these two institutions (family and Wat) that the Thai system of education originated. This means that the first education system in Thailand was quite similar to that of the monastic and cathedral schools of Medieval Europe. It had a religious orientation and was centered in the temples. The primary purpose was to provide moral and religious instruction, and for all practical purposes, was designed to train only the male members of society.

The dominant activity at the King's palace and the temple (Wat) was the basis of the present Thai education which developed during the reigns of King Mongkut (Rama IV), and King Chulalongkorn (Rama V).

King Mongkut, the King of Thailand from 1851 to 1868, studied English, Latin, Science, geography, and astronomy with foreign missionaries. After he became King, he provided Western tutors for the Royal children. Among these was the English governess Anna Leonowens, whose story Margaret London related in her book, Anna and the King of Siam, which later became the popular musical and film "The King and I" and which is misrepresentative to this day.¹⁰

Because of the relationship with Western countries, King Mongkut realized how important it was for the Royal children to learn foreign languages, especially English. King Mongkut laid the foundation of modern education in Thailand.

King Mongkut's educational policies exhibited a posture of defensive modernization. This monarch realized that to avoid occupation by the European powers Thailand had to modernize its government and administration. To accomplish this goal, it was necessary to introduce Western attitudes and knowledge. King Mongkut and his successors were determined, however, that Thai cultural and religious values would be maintained. Thus, Thailand, then called Siam, would be defended against the encroachment of Western imperial nations. The initial modernizing efforts inaugurated by King Mongkut were continued by his successor King Chulalongkorn.

King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V) reigned from 1868 to 1910.

¹⁰ T.N. Pastlethwaite and R.M. Thomas, School in the Asian Region (Hongkong: Heinemann, 1980), p. 55.

During this time, there were increasing contacts with the West. At the beginning of his reign, King Chulalongkorn made several trips to foreign countries. One outcome of these trips was that an English language school was established at the Royal palace in 1871. Called the Palace School, the founding of this school marked the end of the traditional period and the beginning of the rapid changes in Thai society which continue to this day. The three R's and other subjects now required in government offices were introduced and taught.

At that time there was no compulsory education. The better educated segment of the population consisted of the children of aristocrats who had better teachers who provided them with the skills and knowledge needed for higher education. A more systematic national administrative body, the Department of Education, was established in 1887. King Chulalongkorn sent his son Prince Vajiravut to Europe for further studies and encouraged the opening of private schools by foreign missionaries. This period marked the growth of public and private education in Thai history.

A broader national scheme of education was formulated in 1893. It outlined curriculum content, established overall grade levels, and included a specific reference to girls' education. After the 1898 scheme was adopted, girls had more opportunities to become literate through formal schooling.

Formal professional training did not begin until 1889 when a medical school was established. A school for training elementary

teachers was opened in 1892, followed by a law school in 1897; and in 1902 the Royal Pages school began to provide general education and training in government administration.

King Vajiravut (King Rama VI), who reigned from 1910-1925 was very interested in expanding education for the country. In 1917, he established the country's first university, the Chulalongkorn University, in honor of his father. Chulalongkorn University became the first modern university in Thailand.

Education after King Chulalongkorn. Seventy years ago there was not a single university in Thailand and sixty-six years ago there was no compulsory education. As of 1987, there are 13 universities in Thailand, starting with Chulalongkorn.

In 1921, the Primary Education Law was put into force. This was the first Education Law, for Thailand, which stipulated that all boys and girls were to attend school from the ages of seven through fourteen, or until they had completed the four years of primary education. Because of the Law of 1921, the number of primary schools was greatly increased. The Primary Education Law resulted in a system of free and compulsory education, with revenues for education coming from the stamp duty, and voluntary contributions.

At the time of the introduction of the Primary Education Act, the Ministry of Education, Chao Phraya Thammasakdimontri, expressed concern about its implementation. The Primary Education Act required that all children have elementary education. It was very difficult to enforce this compulsory education law because

most families in Thailand were poor. They could not afford to let their children leave work in order to attend school. They could not afford to hire workers to help them with cultivating their land, therefore, they continued to keep their children at home to help them. The Chinese also feared that if their children attended school, they would be drafted into the military.¹¹

The difficulty in implementing the Primary Education Law of 1921 illustrates the problems in enforcing educational policies in under-developed or developing nations. While educational policies such as the Law of 1921 might be enacted at the national level, they are extremely difficult to enforce at the local level. In this case, the labor intensive system of rice cultivation in rural Thailand necessitated the presence of a large labor force, which included children. Long standing tradition, in addition to the economic situation, worked to weaken compliance with the law.

While the Chinese minority was not engaged in agriculture as a primary economic occupation, their commercial and business activities usually involved the involvement of the entire family. For this minority, economic necessity also impeded compliance with the Law of 1921.

After 1932, the government realized that education was one of the basic components needed for modernizing the country along the lines of a constitutional democracy. The general populace

¹¹ G. Finlayson, The Mission to Siam and Hue, The Capital of Cochin China in the years 1821-22 (London: John Murray, 1826)

needed to have a certain level of literacy in order to participate in the society. Communication with and mobilization of the masses through the written word become a dominant priority but, again, one that would require at least a minimal level of literacy.

In 1936, the national scheme of education was amended to a 4-3-3-2 form, meaning four-year primary, three-year lower secondary, three-year upper secondary and two-year pre-university program.

Since the end of the Second World War, there continued to be significant educational developments for the Thai people. In 1951, the government stated the policy that education is instrumental in training people to be democratic and healthy citizens and in acquiring the knowledge and skills to earn their living efficiently. Therefore, moral, physical, intellectual and manual arts education was to be well-harmonized and carefully developed.

To further expand mass education, the Thai government since 1950 has accelerated the establishment of more educational agencies. The Department of Elementary and Adult Education was set up in the Ministry of Education in 1951. Adults were, at that early stage, being educated in different occupations free of charge.¹²

¹² Ministry of Education. Education Development in Thailand 1949-66 (Bangkok: Reported to International Conferences on Public Education Organization by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, 1966)

During the 1950s, rural and higher education received more attention. The first primary level boarding school was established in 1954 for children in remote areas. One school of this type was to be established in each of the twelve educational regions. The Regional Education Development Project, including Higher Education, was begun in 1958 and resulted in the organization of more schools in the rural areas.

According to the constitution of the country, the education of Thai citizens is the direct responsibility of the Thai government. All educational institutes are under government control and regulation. The responsibility for the administration of education in Thailand is shared by three government ministries: the office of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Education and the Minister of Interior. Each of these three government organizations is responsible for education at different levels. The office of Prime Minister is responsible for higher education, and overall financial and staffing aspects of the whole education system. The Ministry of Education is responsible for general education concentrated at the secondary level, and pedagogic aspects of the whole system. Elementary education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior. There is, however, some overlapping of authority in educational administration among these three organizations. It should be noted that these regulations apply to all schools, including those that serve the Chinese minority. Government regulation and control of schools eventually facilitated the policy of

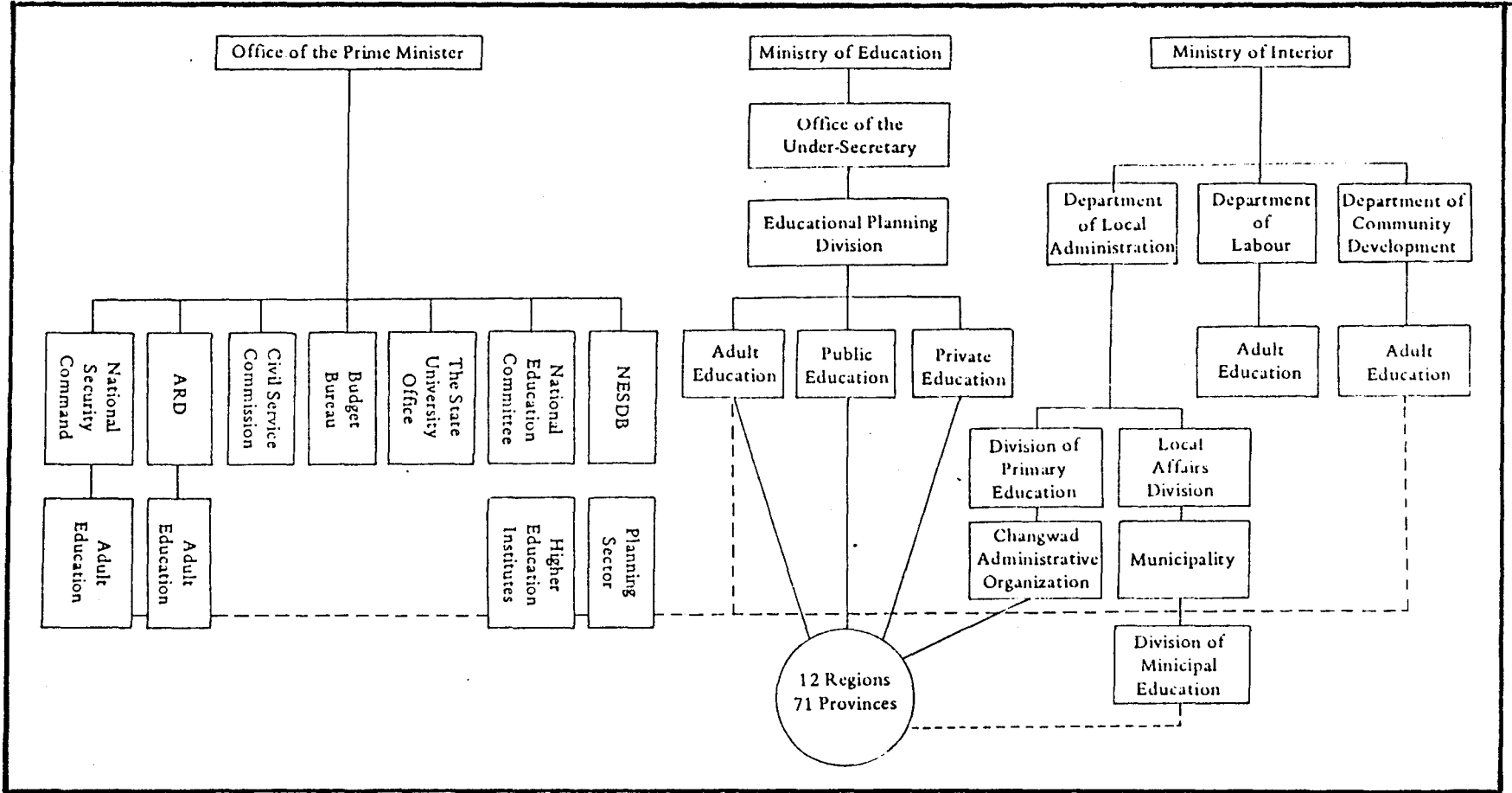
assimilating the Chinese minority into Thai society. The overall organization of the educational system for 1974 in Thailand is given in Table 4.

The pressure for rapid economic and social development became very strong in Thai society. The Thai government realized that the educational system must be appropriately expanded and modernized to meet the needs of individuals to deal with new situations. The National Scheme for Education, in 1960, was designed to cope with the needs of a changing Thai society.

The structure of the Thai educational system from 1960 to 1977 was 7-5-4: seven years of elementary divided into a four--year lower cycle and a three-year upper cycle, five years of secondary divided into a three-year lower cycle and a two-year upper cycle, and four years for a first degree. In 1977, this was changed to the 6-3-3 form.

TABLE 4

Educational Planning Agencies



Source: *Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia*, No. 15, June 1974.

The Present Educational System in Thailand. There are four levels of education existing in Thailand, today. They are as follows:

1. Pre-school education (Kindergarten or pre-primary education) is an education for children before they enter into compulsory schooling. It provides opportunities for young children to become acquainted with schooling. The children in the kindergarten are provided with basic knowledge and learning readiness that enables them to go on to the next stage of their education.

2. Primary education or Elementary education aims at providing the children with basic knowledge, skills and positive attitudes. The government considers education at this level as the most crucial part of the whole educational system because the majority of the Thai population must attend school for the first seven years of their lives. Primary education is compulsory. This education is for the moral, physical, intellectual, and practical growth of children so that they become good citizens in the democratic society of Thailand. The standard ages of children, at primary education, are 7 to 12 years old.

3. Secondary education follows education for ages 13 to 18. Secondary education is divided into lower and upper levels, each level consists of no more than three years. This level of education is concerned with exploring and developing the interest and aptitude of boys and girls along with knowledge and skills to enable them to enter an occupation as well as form a foundation

for a well conducted life. The secondary school also is a proper place for boys and girls to acquire a more accurate self appraisal.

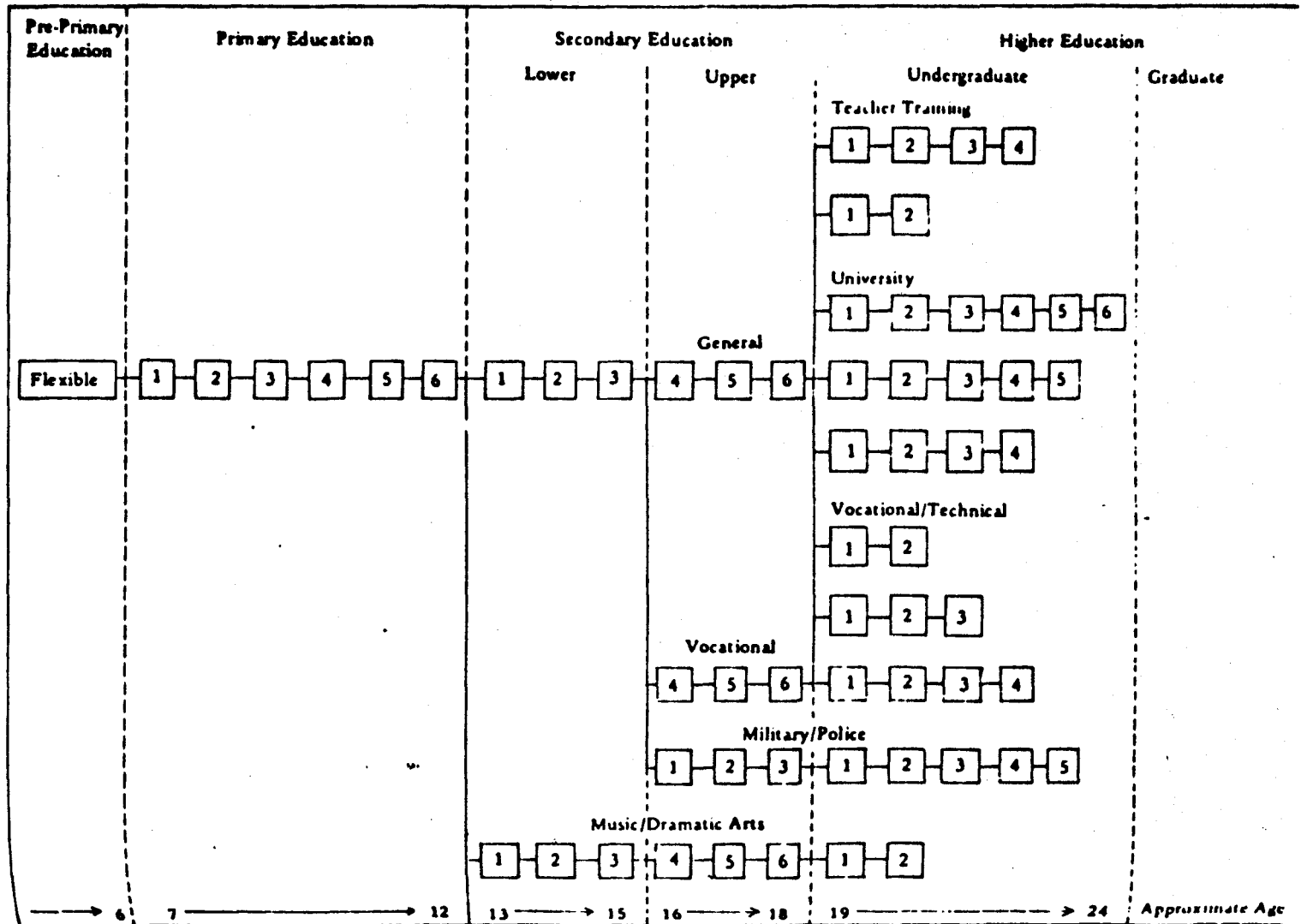
4. Higher education follows upper secondary education. Higher education in Thailand began during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V, 1868-1910) in response to contacts with Western Nations, which had begun with the opening of trade agreements in the early part of the nineteenth century. Higher education aims at cultivating intellect, as well as providing adequate levels of trained manpower for higher academic and vocational positions in the development of the country. This level of education also aims at endowing students with moral, behavioral, ethical conduct and knowledge to enable them to live a valuable life for other individuals, the society and the nation.

Higher education in Thailand consists of central or regional universities, teacher colleges, junior technical institutes, and military academies. All of these institutions are established, financed and supervised by the state. There are also a few private colleges and two Buddhist universities which are regulated by the state. The period of enrollment in higher education levels varies from three to four, and/or six years depending on the area of the major field of study. However, the departments of mathematics and business are composed mainly of Chinese students because of the emphasis placed on these fields by the Chinese in Thai society. As of 1987, many young Chinese

expressed a desire to enter fields that offer more prestige, honor and higher social position than commercial fields. These fields included medicine, engineering and government. It should be noted that the entry of the Chinese minority into higher education was related to the fields with which they were most familiar, especially business and commerce. In recent years, there has been a greater tendency for students of Chinese ancestry to enter non-commercial areas which often are more prestigious in Thailand.

TABLE 5

Present Educational system in Thailand



Source: Ministry of Education, Bangkok.

Conclusion

Thai behavior is determined by material standards that involve profits from their businesses in the economic sector. Furthermore, Thailand is one of the most free enterprise-oriented economies of all the countries in Southeast Asia. Part of Thailand's economic growth has been stimulated by investments from many foreign capitals.

The Thai middle class has studied and emulated western methods and education to improve their economic position. As is true of many other developing countries, Thailand, including its Chinese minority faces the problems of rising expectations and diminishing resources. Thailand, too, must face these problem realistically. Its educational system, capable of forming people's attitudes and habits, must commit itself to serve the nation's needs, so as to remain as competitive as any other country. In order to modernize the economy, the educational system also had to be modernized. For development purposes, more "educated" people will be needed in the future. Therefore, the Thai government should implement a series of educational reforms. For instance, the curriculum should be enriched and expanded so that Thais have a wider range of courses and programs that will advance development in the future. The Thai government must improve the teachers salaries to bring about instructional improvement. The government should also improve school facilities by building laboratories, and libraries. It also needs to provide teachers with inservice training to help them to become familiar

with new developments in their fields' specialization. These educational policies are likely to contribute to future economic development.

Summary

After so many years of building up its national economy, Thailand also has had to deal with several problems. One of these problems was the explosion of its population. In recent years, Thailand's government has developed policies to lower the rate of population growth. This was done through special programs such as family planning. By maintaining a slower rate of population increase, the nation was able to improve economic growth by expanding businesses and its importing and exporting operations. Based upon a stable demographic and economic situation, the next step is to improve the educational system. In this way, the Chinese and Thai would have the knowledge and wisdom to further strengthen their society. The next chapter will discuss the family life, social organization, occupational life, and education of the Chinese in Thai society.

Several comments are appropriate at this time concerning the historical and sociological position of the Chinese minority in Thailand. The Chinese minority gradually moved upward in Thai society by economic means. Initially, they were manual workers or small business men. After securing their economic position at the lower rungs of the economy, they advanced to more central and larger economic enterprises. Their keen business sense gave them

an economic advantage over the indigenous Thai population which was concentrated in the agricultural sector. In recent times, the Chinese entered into the educational system. They tended to concentrate in programs that advanced their business skills. The most current trend is for Chinese students in higher education to move into medicine and law which enjoy higher social status.

CHAPTER III

THE CHINESE IN THAILAND

The Chinese in Thai History

Most of the Chinese immigrant population of Thailand and throughout Southeast Asia came from South China, especially from the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. As Coughlin¹ pointed out, the Chinese in Thailand speak several different languages. This is mainly due to the different areas in which they lived in China. The principal languages used by the Chinese minority are the following:

1. Teochiu is a language spoken by people living in the southeastern part of China and they are generally called "Swatow people." There are also people living in the northeastern Kwangtung province that speak Teochiu.

2. Another language spoken is Hakka. The people who speak it occupy a wider range of China. They extend from Fukien to Kwangsi and also through the northern part of Kwangtung where they mostly farm along the British colony of Hong Kong and Hainan Island.

3. Hainanese is spoken among the people of Hainan Island. Hainanese, who were originally from Asia, moved to the northeast part of the Island.

4. The Cantonese language is spoken by Cantonese people who

¹ R.J. Coughlin, Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand (Hongkong: Hongkong University, 1960), pp. 6-7.

live in the city of Canton which is on the southeastern part of Kwangsi province.

5. Hokkien (or Fukinese) is spoken in the southern part of Fukien province and the major city is Amoy. Hokkien is similar to Teochiu, spoken by the people in the southeastern part of China.

Most of the Chinese immigrants in Thailand have come from the lower socioeconomic classes of Southeast China. They were members of groups who have had to struggle hard to make a bare living in China. They generally have not brought a knowledge of the great classical art, poetry and literature with them to Thailand. Rather, they have brought peasant habits and outlook, as well as certain distinct Chinese qualities. For instance, they have brought their own language dialects, customs, sense of self-discipline, and materialistic values. These Chinese immigrants have traditionally been hardworking and able to adjust to their new environment.

Because of the inadequacies of census data, historically and due to the assimilationist policy, there is no precise idea of how many Chinese are actually living in the country. Additionally, the number of Chinese or Sino-Thai who think of themselves as Chinese, and might behave in ways more favorable to China than Thailand, is as difficult to determine.²

The Chinese people in Thailand are first mentioned during the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries A.D. when

² K.P. Landon, The Chinese in Thailand (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. i.

Chinese Buddhists made contact with the people of the mainland in Southeast Asia. The ancestors of the Thai people lived in the southern regions of China hundreds of years before Christ. In the early ninth century A.D., the Chinese had gained control of southern China and the Thais began to move southward along the river valleys of the Makong and the Chao Phraya River. Some Thais, who were the founders of the Thai kingdom, had left their territory and continued to move southward until the end of the twelfth century A.D. when they settled in the northern parts of Thailand and by force, displaced the previous inhabitants. From 1238 to 1378 SukoThai was established as a kingdom of the Thais. The Chinese Mongol rulers, seeking to annex the kingdom as a tributary state, sent Chinese ambassadors to King Ramkamhaing between 1282 and 1294.³

In 1515, the Chinese Emperor hired two Thai teachers to teach the Thai language because no one in the Chinese embassy could speak or read Thai. From the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries, the relationship between Thai and China remained close. At the same time, Chinese merchants had become increasingly active in Southeast Asia. The Chinese in Thailand, its largest minority, were peaceful self-disciplined, hard-working and very industrious people. They were able to participate successfully in the life of their adopted land.⁴

³ G.W. Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957), pp. 2-3.

⁴ Coughlin, The Modern Chinese in Thailand, p. 14.

In 1766, there was a war between the Thais and Burmese and the Chinese in Thailand helped Thais to defend the country. However, the Thais and Chinese could not prevent a Burmese victory. The Burmese invaded and destroyed Ayuthaya, the capital of Thailand. Later on, however, Thai forces were led by a young man who was a half-Chinese citizen of Ayuthaya. Born with the name Sin, he later served as governor of Tak, adding that prefix to his name to become Taksin. He soon drove the Burmese out of the country. Taksin became King, and he chose Thonburi, just across the Chao Phraya river from Bangkok, as the new capital of Thailand. During King Taksin's reign from 1767 to 1782, the Chinese in Thailand prospered and more Chinese immigrated to Thailand. Unfortunately, however, the many responsibilities proved to be too much for Taksin's mind and he was declared insane. A purge followed in which Taksin was assassinated.⁵

In 1782, Phya Chakkri, son-in-law of King Taksin, replaced Taksin as King with the support of the army and the nobility. King Chakkri established the Chakkri dynasty, which still reigns in Thailand. King Chakkri moved the Thai capital Thonburi across the Chao Phraya river to the village of Bangkok which was then a Chinese trading center.⁶

At the new capital of Bangkok, the King was called King Rama I and the second king was called King Rama II, and so forth. King Rama I and King Rama II encouraged Chinese immigrants to

5 Ibid., p.19.

6 Landon, The Chinese in Thailand, p. 7.

join Thailand's naval fleet. According to Watson, the eighteenth century was a century when Chinese were appointed to government service in the Royal administration.⁷ This brief historical account indicates that certain Chinese gained significant positions in the Thai government and exercised notable influence. Later on, however, the Chinese rise to commercial dominance created tensions and generated some hostility from the Thais.

The imperial government of China opposed the idea of the Chinese leaving their country to reside in another country. Those Chinese who did leave China were considered disloyal to their native country. If they were to return to China, they would face a penalty such as going to prison, or they might even be sentenced to death. The Chinese who had lived abroad for a number of years had advanced in knowledge and learned new ways of living. The imperial government, which was hostile to foreign influences, feared that these Chinese might be used to advance the interests of foreign powers. Therefore, emigration from China was limited.⁸

During the reigns of King Rama III, Rama IV, and Rama V, the Chinese in Thailand continued to prosper. The Chinese people were used as economic advisors and entrusted with developing natural resources, especially timber. Gradually, the Chinese built up a thriving shipbuilding industry and some succeeded in acquiring

7 K. Watson, Educational Development in Thailand (Asia, Hongkong, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann, 1980), p. 77.

8 Coughlin, The Chinese in Modern Thailand, p. 15.

great wealth through commercial enterprises. For instance, some Chinese were appointed to leading positions in the Royal administration. The Chinese immigrant gradually changed from that of a simple oriental trader/laborer to an essential middleman between Western importers and exporters on the one hand, and the mass of the peasant population on the other.

Usually a typical merchant of Siam had Chinese ancestors. His grandfather was perhaps a full-blooded Chinese who may have settled in the community when it was still unincorporated. In contrast to the Chinese, the native Siamese were not interested in commercial activities and were not concerned with occupying a middle position in the trade. Often, the Chinese built the first stores which were exchange centers for local goods. While the older Chinese maintained their old customs such as burning gold paper for worshipping their ancestors, the younger generation attended Thai schools, changed their family names, and became part of the most important class of Thai society.⁹

The Chinese immigration to Thailand accelerated. In 1882, there were only about 8,000 Chinese in Thailand. By 1917, 68,000 Chinese had migrated to Thailand. The Chinese settled in Thailand and began to reconstruct their lives under Thai law. However, they wanted to maintain their own life-style, culture and religion. The Chinese who immigrated used education to perpetuate their subculture and to attain a place in Thai

⁹ Kumut Chandruang, Young Siam in a New World (Asia: May 1939), p. 301.

society.¹⁰ During this period, many Chinese intended to make their fortune in Thailand. Most of them sent money back to China to support their families that they had left behind.

At the same time, China was becoming overpopulated. It was difficult for people to make a living in China because of crop failures and unemployment. Therefore, there was an internal migration into the southern region of China to the provinces of Kwangsi, Hainan, Kwantung and Fukien, which was preliminary to immigration to Thailand. Because the Chinese immigrants came from several different regions of China, at least five dialects were spoken. In addition, they tended to perform, at least initially, the same categories of work that members of their clan or kinship group had followed in China.¹¹

In the early nineteenth century, the relationship between the Chinese minority in Thailand and the Thai government was relatively amicable. There were no serious problems between them. However, the absence of an immigration treaty between China and Thailand meant that Chinese-born individuals could not participate in Thai government and civic affairs. However, this restriction on civic participation was more than counterbalanced by the remarkable degree of freedom given to the Chinese, especially in commerce. They could live anywhere, in any manner, and were slowly assimilated into Thai society. The Chinese did

¹⁰ G. W. Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand. Analytical History (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1957), p. 61.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 35-41.

not regard themselves, nor were they regarded by the Thais as a separate entity in Thailand.¹² However, King Rama VI, (1910-25) who was interested in developing the commercial and economic life of the country, wrote many books which encouraged Thais to actively participate in the business base of the country and thus prevent the Chinese from becoming too powerful in the national economy. One of his books on the Chinese entitled, The Jews of the East, urged a policy of forced assimilation. This book showed that he was personally hostile to the Chinese. In other words, the policies initiated by Rama VI sought to limit Chinese economic power by assimilating the Chinese minority into national life. His policies also encouraged greater economic activities by the native Thais.

Chinese family life

The Chinese in Thailand established a style of life that was based on their customs and mores in China. For example, Chinese meals are planned on a daily basis and typically Chinese do not eat hot (spicy) food. Breakfast might start out with chicken and rice soup or maybe just coffee and toast. The Chinese rarely eat beef because farmers use cow to plow their rice fields. The Chinese believe that the cow is not a decent meat for them to eat. Therefore, they mainly eat pork as a meat for their meal. The main liquids of choice for the Chinese are tea and water. The

¹² V. Purcell, "The Chinese in Siam" The Chinese in South-East Asia (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 119.

Chinese usually live in an extended family with parents, grandparents and children. The extended family is an informal educational agency in which the young acquire the habits and values of the older generation.

The Chinese in Bangkok have adopted the European style of dress for business purposes as the mark of material success and progress. On the other hand, the Chinese in the south of Thailand dress differently because of the strong Malay influence there. For the family living in the South, the traditional Chinese cotton trousers and jacket are worn. Following the extended family pattern, parents stay with children after the latter marry and continue to work together as a family unit. The maintenance of the extended family pattern produces overcrowded living conditions. Dedicated to the family unit, children are expected to support their elderly parents. Businesses are open throughout the year, with the exception of a two or three day closing on the Chinese New Year, usually celebrated sometime between January 21 and February 19.¹³ The Chinese celebration of New Year, according to Freyn, demonstrates how important the Chinese are in the economic life of Thailand. Throughout the country, stores, restaurants, banks and business offices are closed even though it is not an official holiday.¹⁴

Other days celebrated by the Chinese in Thailand are:

13 Coughlin, The Chinese in Modern Thailand, pp. 108-113.

14 H. Freyn, "The Chinese in Thailand" Far Eastern Economic Review 30 (Dec 29, 1960): 658.

1. Chinese memorial Day (Cheng-Meng or Sard-Jin) which falls on the twenty-ninth day of the second Chinese lunar month.

2. The Moon Festival which falls on the fifteenth day of the eight Chinese lunar month, and is particularly important to the young women of the community, because the Chinese believe that the Moon god grants special wishes to young women.

The custom of marriages arranged by parents are accepted among the Chinese minority in Thailand. Frequently, older women in the community, sometimes called matchmakers, find suitable spouses for the young people when they reach marriageable age. On the other hand, in Thailand, a wealthy family will seek a spouse for their son or daughter from a wealthier family. Marriages are expected to benefit the families concerned, especially in business activities. Inter-marriage has become acceptable between Chinese men and Thai women. The increasing inter-marriage between Thais and Chinese has also contributed to the assimilation of Chinese into Thai society and culture.

Chinese organizations

An important agency of Chinese culture and informal education are the various social, benevolent, and commercial organizations.

Among the Chinese organizations in Thailand are:

1. Family or Surname Associations
2. Regional or Dialect Associations
3. Benevolent and Charitable Associations

4. Commercial and Occupational Associations

Most of the Chinese organizations in Thailand were founded by Chinese immigrants to provide essential services among themselves, and for later Chinese immigrants to Thailand.

1. The Family or Surname Associations is based on the Chinese last name or sae. The purpose of this association is to help immigrants adjust to their new life in Thailand. These are informal associations, and their meetings are held at home or at restaurants. Most of the members are male. There are no headquarters for the surname association and the leaders are important with their own groups but not in the community as a whole. Hence, this organization is not as important as others. There are a large number of these associations appealing mainly to newcomers, especially the poor. They help to support community activities such as hospitals and education through membership donations. These surname organizations are a support group for their members.

2. Regional or Dialect Associations are formed by the Chinese who share the same dialect or come from the same region. There are five major groups mentioned previously in this chapter. Dialect associations are the most influential organizations in the Chinese community and have larger memberships than other societies. The main purpose of these organizations is to assist immigrants who have the same dialect or regional background.

Many dialect associations were concerned about the Chinese population in Thailand. They were responsible for improving the

Chinese education in Thailand and also for providing good health service for the people. The association was responsible for teaching the Mandarin language (Kuo-yii) in the Chinese schools, which helped the Chinese a great deal, because it was their linking language. These associations supported not only education, but also hospitals and temples. The association leaders are involved in community service and support designed to advance the Chinese condition in Thailand.¹⁵

The Chinese dialect associations provide assistance to the newcomers from China and offer a variety of assistance, such as contacting relatives or persons from the same village in China, education, medical facilities and additional aid in times of personal crisis. Most of the leaders of these organizations are well known and wealthy businessmen in the Chinese community who also play an important role in supporting educational scholarships.

3. Benevolent and Charitable Associations. The most famous and largest benevolent and charitable association is Po-Tek-Teong (Chinese name) founded in 1910 to financially aid those Chinese unable to manage for themselves. The association provides clothes, medical aid, burial facilities for the indigent, food and shelter to victims of fires, floods and other disasters. Help is without cost to any person in need, regardless of sex, race or nationality. Benevolent and Charitable Association finances are derived mainly from public donations,

¹⁵ Coughlin, The Chinese in Modern Thailand, pp. 41-42.

particularly from wealthy Chinese businessmen. Dialect and commercial associations also aid individuals in times of personal misfortune. Benevolent and Charitable Associations were established in the first place to help the overseas Chinese by giving assistance to all in need. These associations receive the highest praise from the press, a good indication of the value attached to the concept of mutual aid in the Chinese community.

4. Commercial and Occupational Associations. Commercial and occupational associations represent many types of economic activity within the Chinese community. Their purpose is to help newcomers make economic adjustments and provide information on commercial and economic trends. These associations have as their main purpose the protecting and promoting of Chinese business interests.

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce is the largest and the most influential business association in Thailand, especially in Bangkok. Its members include individuals and firms, ranging from small business proprietors to the most influential and wealthy merchants in the country.

The Chinese associations try to influence the Thai government's policy toward the Chinese minority. If the Thai government passes a certain rule or law that the Chinese may feel is unfair to them, they take their complaints to an association called the Chamber. The Chamber in turn takes the complaints of the Chinese to the Thai government. There they try to negotiate some type of agreement. In this way, the Chinese have a right to

voice their opinion concerning the laws that are thrust upon them by the Thai government.¹⁶ The Chamber also acts as a liaison between Thailand and China, and provides financial assistance for educational programs.

Chinese occupations

Strongly entrenched in the business life of Thailand, the Chinese direct and control most of the nation's business. In addition to legitimate businesses, smuggling, brothel-keeping, keeping of gambling dens, illegal liquor shops and pawn houses and the making of spurious commodities are also attributed to them. Rich or poor, the Chinese minority in Thailand are industrious in their habits and naturally thrifty.

The Chinese have held a variety of economic positions in Thailand. The Chinese minority is a wealthy segment of the Thai population; however, the government has not always been able to ascertain the total amount earned by the Chinese. In the early twentieth century, the government did not know the number of Chinese living in Thailand. A census was conducted from 1901 to 1910 to determine the size of the Chinese population. This would distinguish the number of Chinese, who were working and the profits that were made. However, the Thai government could only estimate the yearly earnings which were made by the Chinese.¹⁷

The following details may be used to illustrate the Chinese

16 Ibid.

17 Landon, The Chinese in Thailand, p. 119.

role in Thailand's economy. Through the centuries, the Chinese have dominated in their preferred business occupations. In the nineteenth century, the Chinese gained control of the Thai economy as more Chinese immigrants arrived in Thailand as traders, middlemen and skilled craftsmen (See Table 6).

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Chinese in Thailand extended their mercantile activities, becoming in fact a necessary adjunct to Western commercial expansion. As Neker points out, the Chinese in Thailand play such an important role as business leaders that the Chinese community is Thailand's economic elite.¹⁸

In 1952, a survey was conducted to determine the number of people in Bangkok in key occupations. This survey indicates the Chinese concentration in various occupations (See Table 7).¹⁹

¹⁸ C.D. Neker, "Political Forces in Thailand" A World Affairs Journal 83 (December, 1984): 419.

¹⁹ G. W. Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand, An Analytical History (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957), p. 301.

TABLE 6
DECLARED OCCUPATIONS OF INCOMING
MALE CHINESE ALIENS

OCCUPATIONS	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38
General Laborers	1,782	1,911	2,731
Professional	251	178	1,742
Commercial	17,100	20,095	19,510
Officials	4	25	-
Agriculturists	150	109	375
Personal and Domestic	53	181	2,333
Theatrical	339	106	126
Others and not stated	237	277	1,527
Total	19,916	22,882	28,344

Source: Statistical Year-Book of Siam, 1935-37

TABLE 7
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Occupational Category	Total Number of Workers	Percentage	
		Chinese	Thai
1. Weavers and dyers	8,770	97	3
2. Shoemakers	1,960	96	4
3. Metal workers (base and precious)	7,540	87	13
4. Building trades	1,420	82	18
5. Hotel and restaurant employees	4,110	88	12
6. Carpenters and furniture makers	8,480	86	14
7. Market sellers and hawkers	7,940	86	14
8. Barbers	1,350	75.5	24.5
9. Miscellaneous technicians and craftsmen	11,370	71.50	28.5
10. Business owners and mangers	124,140	71	29
11. Business clerks	8,210	65.5	34.5
12. Tailors and dressmakers	6,600	60	40

Note: Data in source have been reworked.²⁰

²⁰ The distribution of seamen and actors has been omitted because so far as these occupations are concerned the distribution in the capital is not representative of the country as a whole as cited by Skinner.

The survey from the Thai government illustrated where the Thais and Chinese stand in the economic situation. They both shared in the process of food processing and marketing. The Thai made sure they had their own area as far as high-status occupations are concerned. Among the high status occupations are government and civil service officials. They also occupy lower status jobs for the minority, like hair dressers, bus drivers and domestic service workers. Thais also comprise the vast majority of farmers and fishermen.²¹

Since 1952, young Chinese have entered positions that Thai once occupied. The Chinese who did not have a higher education were often refused good jobs. Those Chinese who graduated from universities improved their socioeconomic status by obtaining better positions, such as government jobs which offer more prestige, honor and a higher social position. Other Chinese, after finishing school, follow in their parents' occupation and learn how to function and operate the family's business enterprise.²²

At the same time, the Thai government has tried to encourage Thais to take an active part in business areas which have been dominated by the Chinese. On the other hand, more and more Chinese are entering higher education. The next chapter will examine the education of the Chinese in Thailand.

21 Coughlin, The Chinese in Modern Thailand, pp. 118-119.

22 A.E. Guskin, "Changing Identity: The Assimilation of Chinese in Thailand" (Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968), p. 129.

Summary

Almost the entire Chinese minority in Thailand originated in South China, particularly from Kwangtung and Fukien. They are peaceful, self-disciplined, hard-working and very industrious in their habits. During the centuries, Chinese and Thais have strengthened their mutual relationship. The Chinese minority in Thailand has built up a successful business position. Moreover, the Chinese have attained positions in the Royal administration and other high governmental positions. To encourage assimilation, the Thai government has encouraged them to acquire a Thai education to prepare them to be useful citizens of the country. Although many Chinese schools have been closed, the Chinese continue to maintain their cultural uniqueness through their commercial dominance and assistance associations.

In terms of informal education, the Chinese voluntarily fraternize and business associations are of significance. It was these voluntary associations that assisted the Chinese immigrant to Thailand in making cultural adaptation easier. After this initial adaptation was accomplished, the associations continued to advance the interests of the Chinese minority. They provided services to their members and acted as an intermediary between the Chinese community and the Thai government.

CHAPTER IV

CHINESE AND EDUCATION

Historical background

The first section of Chapter IV examines the history of the Chinese education in Thailand. Before the advent of Chinese school, the Chinese minority in Thailand educated their children at home. In addition to parental-based home instruction, some children were sent to Buddhist temples for their education. Children were also taught in small, dimly-lighted rooms behind stores. Early instruction emphasized studying the scriptures. When Chinese schools were established, the children studied from early in the morning until late in the evening; in the summer they went to school only in the early hours of the day. This pattern of schooling was based on their experiences in China which were replicated in Thailand.¹ On the other hand, wealthy families hired Chinese tutors to instruct their children at home or even sent them to China for their education. It is difficult to estimate the number of Chinese children educated in the early pattern in China. However, Sharma estimates that the Chinese comprise about 12 percent of the population.²

According to Skinner, formal education was not of much

1 K. Watson, Educational Development in Thailand (Hongkong Singapore Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia, 1980), p. 12.

2 C.L. Sharma, Ethnicity and Education in Thailand (Mexico City, Mexico: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 010 659, 1978), p. 5.

importance in the Chinese community in terms of social position, because status was economically determined.³ However, according to Purcell, Chinese basic education changed very slowly over the centuries. Chinese parents banded together to educate their children in their language and values. In order to control the Chinese minority, the Thai government began to regulate Chinese schools. Because of this governmental regulation, Chinese teachers could not teach their students the Chinese language properly. Although Chinese parents wanted their children to master Chinese, it was difficult for the children to complete the school term because of the very restrictive rules which were imposed on the schools. Despite these restrictions, Chinese parents wanted their children to succeed in business and to maintain their own culture.⁴

During the early part of 1930, schooling stressed instruction in written and spoken Chinese. As Watson pointed out, Chinese schools were organized into three parts or levels. The levels were primary, middle, and classical. In the primary level, students began to learn the language by memorizing and reciting. At the middle level, the children learned the colloquial language and wrote composition papers. In the classical school, they learned to write highly stylized essay papers. At all levels, the students sought to make a highly intellectual impression. By trying to be the smartest in the class, each

3 Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand, p. 135.

4 Purcell, The Chinese in Siam, p. 141.

student was strengthening his or her own abilities and knowledge. Once the Chinese students learned how to form and connect the characters, they were able to write sentences. Chinese education was very formal and the parents wanted their children to concentrate and learn well.⁵

In 1852, the first Chinese school was established in Thailand. In 1908, the first Chinese school was established in Bangkok by the Chinese community. Three Chinese teachers were hired from China and used the curriculum in China to teach Chinese students in Thailand. According to Miligan, the school was closed after a short period and the teachers returned to China.⁶ Skinner indicates that after 1908, the Chinese communities in Thailand established other schools. The population in these communities increased greatly because of the influx of immigrants, as Table 8 indicates.⁷

5 Watson, Educational Development in Thailand, pp. 121-22.

6 Y. Miligan, The Role of Chinese in Thailand Master's thesis, (Thailand: Chulalongkorn University, 1967) p. 60.

7 Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand, p. 191.

TABLE 8

Chinese migration by sex, Thailand, 1921-1941, 1945-1949 *

A. By sea only, Port of Bangkok, April 1, 1921 to December 31, 1931				
	Male	Female	Total	% female of total
Arrivals	765,265	201,842	967,107	20.87
Departures	489,617	116,586	606,203	
Surplus	275,648	85,256	360,904	23.62
B. By all means of travel, all Thailand, 1932-1941 inclusive				
	Male	Female	Total	% female of total
Arrivals	300,799	108,997	409,796	26.60
Departures	232,573	77,432	310,005	
Surplus	68,226	31,565	99,791	31.63
C. By all means of travel, all Thailand, 1945-1949 inclusive				
	Male	Female	Total	% female of total
Arrivals	132,337	60,704	193,041	31.45
Departures	36,417	11,031	47,448	
Surplus	95,920	49,673	145,593	34.12

* The original source for A was the Customs Department. Data compiled from *Thailand Statistical Year Book 1933/34-1934/35* (No. 18), 98. Data for B and C were compiled from statistics supplied by the Immigration Division. The war years, 1942-1945, have been omitted.

According to Watson, in 1909 the first all-community schools were established as the Hua Yi and Hsiu-Min schools. These schools were sponsored by all five speech groups which spoke the Cheochiu language. Later other dialect groups established their own school. In 1917, the first girls' school was established and by 1920, there were 30 Chinese elementary schools. The number of Chinese schools were rapidly increased to forty-eight by 1925, two hundred by 1932 and by 1933 there were 271 Chinese schools in Thailand.⁸

In 1925, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic, died. In addition to creating the political foundation of modern China, he played an important role in the political education of all Chinese, including overseas Chinese. For instance, in Thailand the first Chinese school was established in Bangkok in 1908 and was modeled on the philosophy of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.⁹

The Chinese schools were increased rapidly and some of them in Bangkok were opened without proper permission from the Ministry of Education. However, the Thai government sought to establish control since it wanted all children to receive a Thai education that would prepare them to be useful citizens of the country. Therefore, Chinese schools were also required to teach the Thai language. Table 9 indicates the rapid increase of Chinese schools from 1934 to 1938.

8 Watson, Educational Development in Thailand, p. 123.

9 Miligan, The Role of Chinese in Thailand, p. 60.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF CHINESE SCHOOLS INCREASE FROM 1934-1938

Year	Schools	Teachers	Students
1934 - 35	193	29	4,742
1935 - 36	191	311	7,562
1936 - 37	224	482	9,124
1937 - 38	233	492	16,711

Source: G.W. Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand An Analytical History (1957), p. 230.

In 1918, the Thai government passed the Private School Act which required that in every Chinese school:

1. The applicant had to have completed at least two years of Thai senior school in order to qualify for the principalship.
2. The teachers had to pass two government tests within one year to qualify to teach in Thailand.
3. The Thai language had to be taught three hours a week.
4. All Chinese books which involved politics had to be removed from schools and the Thai government would provide Thai teachers for Chinese schools.

The Chinese language, Mandarin, was taught in the private Chinese medium primary school under government restrictions. The original Private School Act of 1919 restricted Chinese schools to follow certain measures so that they would be forced to conform to Thai standards. The Law of 1962 ruled that in a thirty hour weekly curriculum, only ten hours could be conducted in the Chinese medium (for subsidized schools only six). Chinese education in Thailand was limited to four years of the compulsory seven years which made it impossible for the Chinese to escape attending three years of Thai medium schooling. In the Chinese schools, children were taught Chinese in the mornings and Thai in the afternoon. Most children did not attend afternoon class since they could not read Thai. To overcome this evasion of the regulations, the government sent inspectors throughout the country to make sure that the Thai language was taught in the Chinese schools.

During the 1930s, the education in the schools had grown large enough for the Thai government to start setting rules and regulations for the schools to follow. In 1919, the government passed a Compulsory School Act which required that children from eight to eleven must attend school. The law also required the heads of schools in Thailand to register with the Ministry of Public Instruction. The Thai government wanted to be in full control of all the schools in Thailand.¹⁰

According to Watson, the Thai government opposed the Chinese schools from conducting instruction in Chinese language, since it wanted everyone to be taught in Thai. The Ministry of Education wanted the people to be taught from the books that it approved, and books, not approved were confiscated and destroyed. In 1934, fifty titles and, in 1938 a further forty-three titles were banned on these grounds. If schools continued to use these books and ignore the government, they were closed down by the Ministry of Education.¹¹ Table 10 provides further data on the Chinese schools.

10 Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia, pp. 142-43.

11 Watson, Educational Development in Thailand, p. 125.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF CHINESE SCHOOLS IN THAILAND*

Year	Schools	Students	Year	Schools	Students**
1932/3	200	7,726	1939/40	61	
1933/4	271	8,200	1940	16	?
1934/5	193	7,562	1941	3	
1936/7	224	9,124	1942	5	
1937/8	230	16,711	1943	4	
1938/9	218	?	1944	2	

* Statistical Yearbooks of Thailand (1933/34, 1934/35, 1939-44)

** Student enrollments not given. This was part of the policy of suppression cited by Watson.

Chinese education changed in Thai when a new government was established by Luang Phibul Songkram, who was Prime Minister from 1938 to 1957. As Purcell has pointed out, Luang Phibul was determined to make sure Thai education was taught at any cost, which made it even more difficult for the Chinese to maintain their own educational system. From April to August 1939, thirty-two Chinese schools were closed. The excuse that was given was that this action was being taken against Chinese "secret societies," and to forestall plans for organizing sedition and unrest. From 1939 through 1941 the Thai government issued still additional laws to keep the Chinese schools under control.¹²

The major aim of the Thai government was to develop a Thai-oriented educational system. Within ten years, the government expected that at least 50 percent of the Chinese population would know and speak the Thai language. To achieve this aim the government started taking measures against the Chinese schools.¹³

In 1938, Luang Phibul Songkram took even stronger measures toward Chinese education. During 1939, from April to July, twenty-five schools were closed. According to the Thai Chronicle August 16, 1939, more than thirty Chinese schools and ten out of eleven Chinese newspapers were closed. The Thai government raided Chinese schools, newspapers and homes. Some Chinese were deported and some were jailed for sending money to China. This made the

¹² Purcell, "The Chinese in Siam" The Chinese in South-East Asia, pp. 146-47.

¹³ Coughlin, The Chinese in Modern Thailand, p. 149.

Chinese furious with the Thai government. 14

The Chinese schools in Thailand

Based upon the foregoing description of Chinese education in Thailand, it is possible to consider Chinese schools in greater depth. The Chinese in Thailand organized schools for boys and girls in order for them to learn primary and secondary education within the cultural boundaries of the Chinese community. As institutions, the Chinese schools are separate entities rather than a system. There is no central supervision or common director to form a system for the Chinese schools. The schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education of Thailand's government.¹⁵

In Thailand the first Chinese school was founded in 1852 by a Chinese associate of an American Missionary. Chinese schools, from 1852 to 1908, were founded primarily to teach the Chinese language and had little or no political overtones. For 1911 to 1917, the growth of Chinese schools coincided roughly with the modern development of the Thai system of popular education. On the other hand, the curriculum stressed loyalty to China rather than loyalty and devotion to Thailand. The teachers often were hired from China. The Thai government watched the development of the Chinese schools with growing concern and, as Skinner pointed out, the rapid growth of Chinese schools was a reflection of

14 Landon, The Chinese in Thailand, p. 192.

15 Coughlin, The Chinese in Modern Thailand, p. 144.

growing Chinese business in Thailand.16

Some idea of the rapid growth of schools under government encouragement can be gleaned from the statistics of the Ministry of Public Instruction which appear in Table 11.

TABLE 11

Year	No. of schools	No. of pupils	No. of teachers	Expenses of the ministry (in baht)**	Grants for Schools (in baht)
1914-15		*119,032	*4,500	1,306,173	
1919-20	2,975	170,052	4,608	2,119,277	
1925-26	5,354	591,297	11,921	2,546,380	
1930-31	6,375	677,726	14,299	3,297,319	2,967,535
1931-32	5,731	735,037	15,005	3,153,198	2,987,786
1932-33	6,331	738,991	14,590	2,934,549	1,500,000
1933-34	6,759	827,547	17,425	2,393,899	2,300,000
1934-35	7,946	1,041,682	22,328	2,756,063	3,962,313
1935-36	8,512	1,152,242	24,403	3,110,167	4,659,629
1936-37	9,344	1,227,227	27,034	2,865,346	5,566,671

* Government and private schools combined.

** The unit of Thai currency is the baht. Since 1949, free market rates have fluctuated between seventeen and twenty-three baht to the U.S. dollar, with an average of about twenty cited by Skinner. (At the present time, currency exchange is between 24 and 26 baht to the U.S. dollar.)

Source: Statistical Yearbook - Siam, No. 19, p. 63.

Skinner stated that Luang Sindhya Songkram, the Ministry of Public instruction, in an assembly addressed the growth of schools and enrollment of pupils. He stated that in 1931-32 there were 6,881 schools both private and public, which enrolled 788,846 pupils. In 1938-39, there were 41,471 schools, an increase of 24,069 and 1,531,089 or an increase of 742,223 pupils. During 1939-40, there were an additional five thousand schools which were opened.¹⁷ However, Coughlin, one of the pioneer authors on the Chinese in Thailand, agrees with Landon, Purcell and Skinner that after 1939 the number of Chinese schools were rapidly decreased.¹⁸ See Table 12.

17 Skinner, The Chinese Society in Thailand, p. 67.

18 Coughlin, The Chinese in Modern Thailand, p. 147.

TABLE 12

CHINESE SCHOOLS IN THAILAND AND IN BANGKOK PROVINCE

Year	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total Schools
1937-38	197(99)*	20(9)	13(11)	230(119)
1938-39	187(104)	25(14)	6(6)	218(124)
1939-40	38(10)	9(6)	14(3)	61(14)
1940	6(6)	2(2)	8(6)	16(14)
1941	2(2)	-(-)	1(-)	3(2)
1942	2(2)	-(-)	3(2)	5(4)
1943	2(2)	-(-)	2(1)	4(3)
1944	-(-)	-(-)	2(1)	2(1)

Note: Figures in parentheses show the number of schools in Bangkok Province (Statistical Year-Book of Thailand, 1939-44:127).

The main reason for the decline of Chinese education (as shown in Table 12) was due to the fact that the Chinese Schools were abolished by Luang Phibul. For example, if any school had failed to register with the Ministry of Education, that school was closed and applications were rejected for opening new Chinese schools. However, according to Coughlin, after the revolution in 1932, Thai government grew more greatly concerned with Chinese schooling. The Thai Ministry of Education became more vigorous and restrictive in controlling the number and curriculum of the Chinese schools. Although the Private School Act of 1918 was a law that was never strictly enforced, the principle concern of the Thai government concerning Chinese education is illustrated by King Prayadhipok who simply stated that "Chinese pupils can be good Thais as well as good Chinese."¹⁹

Despite the policy of the Thai government to restrict Chinese schools, the Chinese continued their efforts to educate their children in the Chinese language and culture. The Chinese found other ways to avoid official regulation of their schools. If a Chinese family had sufficient funds, they would hire a tutor for their children. The tutor did not have to be registered as did a school teacher, nor did he need a teaching certificate. He could teach seven different children every hour, so each child had 1 hour of schooling a day. Also, kindergartens were not counted as primary school they could be taught Chinese. Through

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 147-48.

these various educational alternatives, the Chinese continued to find ways of teaching their children Chinese according to their ethnic values. Despite the Thai government's efforts to curtail Chinese education in its society, the Chinese sought to maintain their ethnic identity by inventing stratagems to surmount and evade government regulations. At one time, Chinese schools only consisted of Chinese teachers with the exception of a Thai language teacher. Today, the majority of their teaching staff are Thais. Figures supplied by the Ministry of Education in Thailand are registered for each of these years and are cited by Coughlin, thus Chinese schools employed twice as many Thai teachers as Chinese teachers (See Table 13).²⁰

During World War II, Chinese schools were almost non-existent. After the war, the Chinese rebuilt their schools. In 1948, the Thai government passed laws restricting the number of Chinese schools which reduced them from 264 in 1952, to 185 in 1960 and to 168 in 1967.²¹

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 152-53.

²¹ Miligan, The Role of Chinese in Thailand, p. 65.

TABLE 13

TEACHERS IN REGISTERED CHINESE SCHOOLS

Year	Thai Teachers	Chinese Teachers
1945	25	11
1946	89	37
1947	146	72
1948	255	98
1949	561	261
1950	558	254

Source: Minority of Education, Bangkok, Thailand.

According to Coughlin, during the Post World War II period, Chinese teachers were difficult to find. Because of the scarcity of available Chinese teachers, the salaries paid to the few Chinese teachers increased. These Chinese teachers had to be approved by the Ministry of Education. In addition, all Chinese teachers who held graduate diplomas had to be certified by the Chinese Embassy in Thailand. These teachers also had to have the proper identity card and residence permit in order to apply to the Ministry of Education. The candidate for a certificate and license had to pass an examination on the Thai language. If he or she failed, the examination had to be retaken within two years. Those who failed a second time could never teach in Thailand.²²

Higher education in Thailand and the Chinese

Before the twentieth century there was little significant higher education in Thailand in the Western style. The Chinese were interested in advanced learning but they wanted to learn in their own cultural style. The Chinese felt they should preserve their values in business and society, with the same prestige given to Thai cultural values. By teaching their own customs and beliefs to their children, the Chinese believed that they could preserve their own life-style and social patterns within the broader context of Thai society.

The emphasis for higher education in Thailand began during the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910). This came about as a

²² Ibid., pp. 153-54.

response to contact with Western nations who were interested in negotiating trade agreements in the early part of the nineteenth century. However, Thailand had no university until 1917 when the first one, Chulalongkorn, was established by King Rama VI to honor his father, King Rama V. This first university consisted of a number of existing specialized training schools which were organized into four faculties, namely, arts and sciences, medicine, engineering and political science. As of 1985, according to Malakul, there were 412 higher education institutions, including more than ten universities, divided into 285 government and 127 private institutions.²³

According to Gutek and Valenti, in 1923 and 1934, the medical faculty of Chulalongkorn university received several grants from the Rockefeller Foundation in order to promote medical science. In 1934, Chulalongkorn university received accreditation to confer degree in the fields of medicine, art science and engineering. On the other hand, at the end of 1933, certain faculty were separated from Chulalongkorn university and reorganized into the University of Moral and Political Science. In 1952, the name of this second university was changed to Thammasat University.²⁴

In the early 1940's three more universities were

23 Prasarn Malaku, Higher Education Expansion in Asia (Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University, 1985) p. 65.

24 G.L. Gutek and J.J. Valenti, Education and Society in India and Thailand (Washington: University Press of America, 1977), p. 361.

established, namely, the University of Medical Science which is known today as Mahidol University, the University of Agriculture (Kasetsart University) and the University of Fine Arts (Silpakorn University).

The main purpose of higher education in Thailand is to prepare students for their future occupations in Thai society. The university curriculum emphasizes specialization. Students are required to complete a highly selective series of courses which relate directly to the major field of study. However, the Thai system is an elite system designed to prepare selected persons from the upper and upper-middle classes to fit into the government bureaucracy and to assume leadership positions in finance, international affairs and, to a limited extent, in commerce. This pattern of higher education was developed in the last part of the nineteenth century when King Chulalongkorn provided for the early and advanced education of princes and other persons of promise.

In 1959, the National Council of Education (NCE) Act was passed by the legislature. Although NCE as set up by this Act was primarily concerned with higher education, it also contributed to the progress of public education as a whole. Article 10 of this Act states that the NCE had the following duties and responsibilities:

1. to plan for improvement of the nation's educational policies in accordance with the national economic and political system;

2. to solve problems in public education and to propose action to be taken by the government;
3. to analyze the annual report of public education;
4. to recommend to the Council of Ministry methods of securing governmental revenues for the support of public education;
5. to plan the annual budget for all the universities;
6. to approve the establishment, merger, and dissolution of universities;
7. to approve the establishment, merger, and dissolution of colleges and departments within the universities, and
8. to plan and approve the curriculum in the universities.

Higher Education in Thailand consists of central or regional universities, teacher colleges, junior technical institutes, and military academies. There are thirteen higher education institutions under the Office of State Universities. All of these institutions were established, financed, and supervised by the state, and ten higher educational institutions belong to the private sector.

The majority of the Chinese realize the value of higher education to prepare their children for business which is largely controlled by them. According to Maxwell, more and more Chinese have been admitted into higher education institutions. For instance, at least 65 percent of the medical students come from

ethnic Chinese families.²⁵ However, after they graduate from a university, modern Chinese parents encourage their children to seek high government jobs which bring more prestige to the family. Because the number of students admitted to university study is severely limited, many of the most able students prefer to go abroad for higher education. Many of these students are of Chinese ethnicity and receive support from their families.

To qualify for higher education, all candidates for admission to institutions of higher education must pass the upper secondary education exams and take the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination (JHEEE) which is an entrance examination used by the National Education Council (NCE) for admission into higher education (See Table 14). The universities, except for the College of Education, are under the supervision of the NEC in the Office of Prime Minister. The College of Education is under the supervision of the department of Teacher Training of the Ministry of Education. Table 15 shows the Administrative Structure of the Educational Systems in Thailand.

²⁵ W.E. Maxwell, "Ethnic Assimilation in Thai University" Comparative Education Review 18 (February 1974): 59-60.

TABLE 14

HIGHER EDUCATION: Enrolments in Higher Education Institutions under the Office of State Universities (1970-1975)

Institution	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Chulalongkorn University	11,465	12,579	14,754	15,855	15,904	16,465
Kasetsart University	4,952	6,004	6,434	6,085	5,712	5,985
Thammasat University	11,763	11,598	10,590	11,251	10,823	10,483
Mahidol University	4,329	4,697	4,106	4,364	4,551	4,449
Silpakorn University	913	1,084	1,295	1,451	2,679	2,968
Ramkhamhaeng University ¹	—	15,175	23,802	38,364	60,831	52,736
National Institute of Development Administration	624	449	463	673	775	880
Sri Nakharinwirot University ²	10,784	14,617	16,454	19,592	21,044	21,680
King Mongkut's Institute of Technology	1,503	1,832	3,189	3,289	3,575	3,750
Chiangmai University	5,447	6,443	7,236	6,766	7,259	7,241
Khon Kaen University	1,154	1,361	1,649	1,817	2,051	2,301
Prince of Songkhla University	533	978	788	887	1,059	1,937
Total	53,467	76,817	90,765	110,394	136,263	130,965

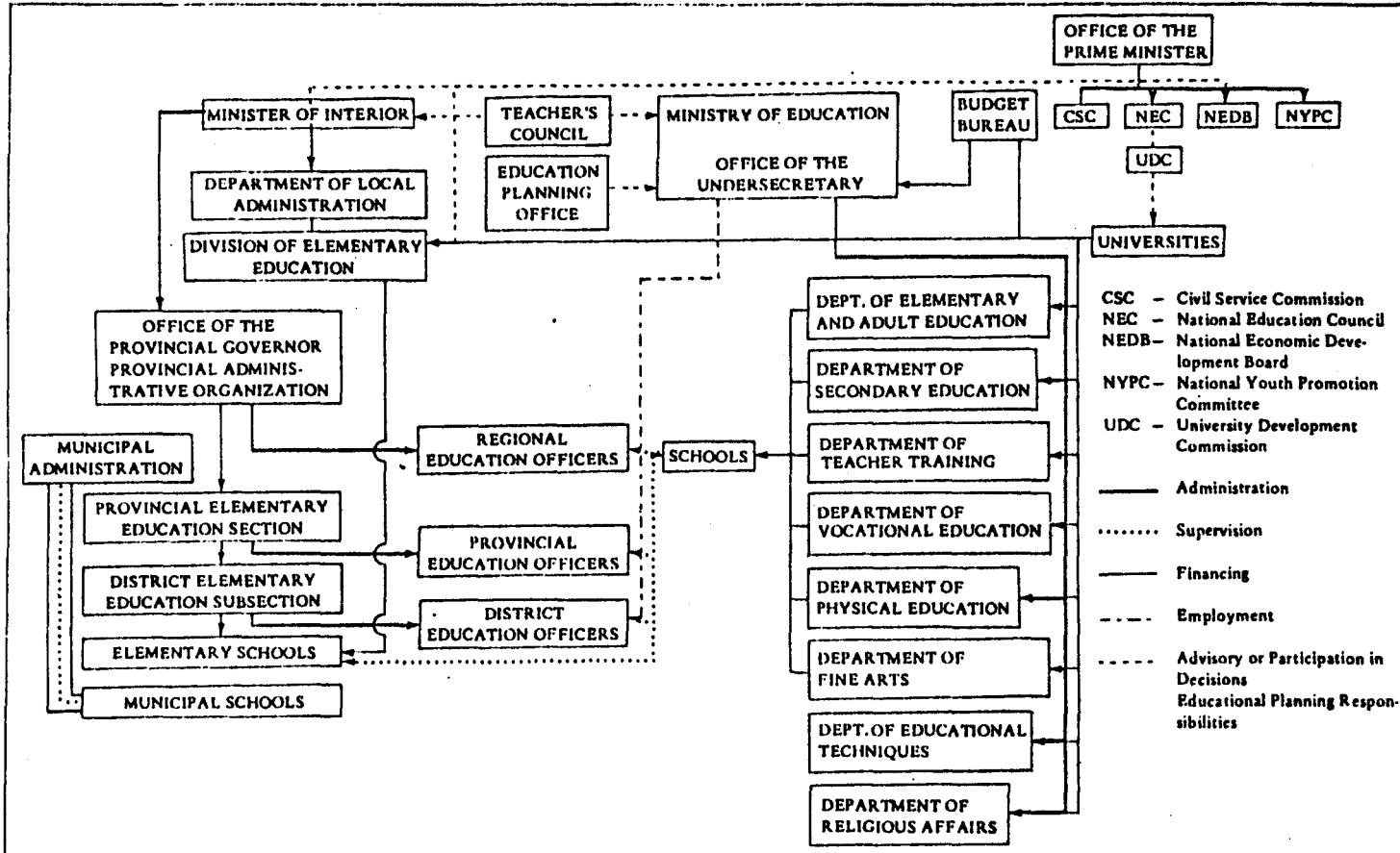
Source: *Office of State Universities.*

¹ 'Open Admissions' University.

² Sri Nakharinwirot University consists of a group of recently 'upgraded' Colleges of Education scattered throughout the country, including three in the Bangkok area.

TABLE 15

Administrative Structure of the Education System, 1971



Source: Ministry of Education, Bangkok.

One of the major problems in higher education in Thailand is that of admissions practices. There is a great demand for admission to higher education because many students believe that universities are the only places of professional training which will enable them to attain leadership positions in Thai society. However, there are not enough seats for students who wish to continue their education in a university because only 25 to 50 percent are admitted into higher education institutions.²⁶ For example, according to the National Education Council, enrollments in higher education have had substantially increased, particularly in the departments of art, law, and social sciences (see Table 16.)

Development and Expansion of Higher Education

Higher education in Thailand is divided into three phases:

1. During the 1960's, the first phase emphasized the training of special officials for government services. The first institution was built in 1917, and specialized in Arts, Sciences, Medicine, Engineering and Political Sciences. This institute was named in honor of King Rama V which was called Chulalongkorn University.

Since the revolution in 1932, Thailand has been governed by the Monarch as Head of the State. The government formed a second institution called the University of Moral and Political Science in 1933. This university offered law, politics, economics

²⁶ Watson, Educational Development in Thailand, p. 199.

and related social sciences to students. The second university's name was changed in 1952 to Thammasat university and also adopted the closed university system in terms of entry and class attendance.

In the 1940s three more universities were established; namely, Kasetsart, Mahidol, and Silapakorn. The first phase of higher education consisted of five universities all of which were located in Bangkok under the government ministries. In the 1950's a number of colleges of education were also authorized by the Ministry of Education.

2. The second phase started in 1961-1966 and ended in 1967-1971. The Thai government developed three principal aims, naming them as the decentralization of higher education in provincial areas, the provision of more open access at the higher education level, and the projection of a shortage in the supply of high-level manpower to meet the rapid development of the country. This resulted in the establishment of regional higher learning institutions and the promulgation of the Private College Act of the open admission university.

3. The third period started in 1972 and continued into 1976. An additional plan encompassed the years 1982 through 1984, which created a large expansion in Thai higher education. In addition, other developments consisted of the establishment of distant learning education at Sukkothai Thammathirat University, and the upgrading of institutions and private colleges throughout Thailand's system of higher education.

Seventy years ago there was no university in Thailand. As of today, there are 412 institutions of higher education in Thailand. This includes 190 institutions (46 percent) located in Bangkok and central region of the country. Also in Bangkok, 72 percent of government institutions and 78 percent of private institutions are under the control of the Ministry of University Affairs. The geographical distribution in terms of numbers and types of higher education institutions is shown in Table 17.

According to Malakul, during the past two decades, student admission to higher learning institutions has shown a substantial increase. Table 18 illustrates the total number of enrollments showing a percentage increase of 155.75%, 130.07% and 287.95%, respectively over a twenty-year period. For reports of the National Education Commission as indicated in Tables 18 and 19.

Many Thais who hold medical positions would prefer to dominate the medical field; as well as restrict the entry of the Chinese into the field. However, in 1966, 28 percent of the male medical students spoke both Chinese and Thai. These students spoke Chinese in their homes and Thai out in society. 13 percent listed both of their parents as ethnic Chinese. Another 12 percent of the students indicated that at least one of their grandparents was full Chinese and had been in China. Of the male medical students, at least 65 percent came from ethnic Chinese families. The Thai government indicated that 83 percent of male

medical students had Chinese blood.²⁷

Summary

Historically, the Chinese in Thailand began their children's education at home. Some children were sent to Chinese temples where they were taught by Chinese teachers. Chinese parents wanted their children to master Chinese education. The Children learn to write in Chinese characters and the children also had to memorize the canonical books, and be able to recite them to the teacher. The children also learned to form compositions and write them properly. In 1892, the first Chinese school was built. By 1933, there were 271 Chinese schools in existence. The Thai government became concerned about the rapid increase of Chinese schools, and as a consequence, passed the Private School Act, which meant that Chinese schools had to meet certain requirements or otherwise were subject to closing. Although, it is difficult to obtain accurate figures for Chinese schools in Thailand. These schools have had an impact on the education of the Chinese minority.

Formal education, or schooling, has been used by the Chinese minority for two purposes: (1) to transmit the Chinese language and culture and (2) to provide for economic success. Initially, Chinese schools followed closely the curricular patterns and instructional methods of the schools in China. The Chinese in

²⁷ Maxwell, "Ethnic Assimilation in Thai University" Comparative Education Review pp. 59-60.

Thailand as a language and ethnic minority used Chinese schools to perpetuate their culture by transmitting it to the young.

After they acquired economic dominance over Thailand's commerce, the Chinese followed an ambivalent policy of seeking to maintain their own schools for purposes of cultural preservation and of using the Thai system, especially higher education, for improving their social status. In turn, the Thai government, at first followed a policy of ignoring Chinese schools. It then took on a more adversarial position of trying to regulate them and restrict their influence.

TABLE 16

Enrollment at the Bachelor's degree level

Year	Humanities	Education	Fine Arts	Social Sciences	Natural Sciences	Engineering	Medical Sciences	Agriculture	Total
1967	2,144	5,972	243	14,005	1,588	2,717	4,833	2,484	33,986
1968	2,464	7,197	241	14,082	1,776	3,471	5,229	2,681	37,241
1969	3,061	6,627	265	15,400	1,975	4,617	5,840	3,327	41,112
1970	2,995	12,935	879	16,011	2,734	4,381	6,164	3,486	51,233
1975	8,656	33,147	1,421	31,274	7,434	6,682	8,326	3,675	123,566

Source: National Education Council, Higher Education Committee, Bangkok, Thailand.

TABLE 17

Distribution of Thai Higher Education Institutions by Regions (1983)

Regions	Ministry of University Affairs		Ministry of Education		Speicalized institutions under other minorities and organizations	Total
	Gov. Uni. and institutes	Private Uni. and colleges	Govn. colleges	Private colleges		
Central						
Bangkok	17	9	36	17	24	103
Outside	4	2	49	24	8	87
North	3	1	37	20	5	76
Northeast	2	2	43	30	5	87
South	3	-	34	18	4	59
Total	29	14	214	109	46	412

Source: National Education Commission, 1984.

TABLE 13

Number of Enrollment in Higher Education Institutions During Four
National Development Plans

Institutions	1961-1966	1967-1971	1972-1976	1977-1981
	No. of students	No. of students	No. of students	No. of students
Government	94,120	236,089	506,763	2,029,034
Closed admission	94,102	236,089	370,740	440,529
Opened admission	-	-	136,023	1,588,555
Ranxamhaeng	-	-	136,023	1,534,379
STOU	-	-	-	54,176
Private	-	4,576	46,934	119,002
Total	94,102	240,665	553,697	2,148,086

Source: National Education Commission, 1984.

TABLE 19

Number of Change Percentage of Undergraduate Enrollment in Government
Higher Education Institutions by Fields of Study During Three
National Development Plans

	1967-1971	1972-1976		1977-1981	
	No. of students	No. of students	% ±	No. of students	% ±
1. Agriculture	15,427	17,063	10.60	23,616	38.40
2. Law	17,616	64,440	265.85	570,640	785.43
3. Health Sciences	29,045	38,537	32.68	46,608	20.94
4. Humanities	14,963	37,689	151.83	97,056	157.52
5. Fine Arts	4,343	6,401	47.39	6,309	- 1.44
6. Science	11,009	30,913	180.80	77,555	150.47
7. Engineering	18,477	32,769	177.35	39,149	11.95
8. Education	51,226	140,598	174.25	307,621	218.79
9. Social Sciences	57,163	103,664	81.35	805,592	677.12
10. Others	-	-	-	5,848	-
Total	219,269	472,082	115.30	1,979,994	419.42

Source: National Education Commission, 1984.

CHAPTER V

THE CHANGING SITUATION

In the nineteenth century

Before the rise of nationalism in China and Thailand, the Chinese were a self-contained minority which developed a dominant economic position in Thai society. Initially, the Chinese who immigrated to Thailand adjusted successfully to their new environment. They were welcomed by the Thais who saw them as associates in reforming and building their society. This original spirit of cooperation between the two cultures was threatened by foreign involvement. The intrigues of the Western colonial nations as well as rising nationalism in China produced tensions between the indigenous Thais and the Chinese immigrants.¹

The Chinese, who are the largest minority in Thailand, comprise approximately 10 percent (as of today about 12 percent) of the country's total population. They are concentrated in the centers of trade and industry, such as Bangkok, where they dominate the world of business. Much modern business and industrial development in cities and towns is in foreign hands or controlled by Thais of Chinese descent. Eventually, the Chinese traders and businessmen were living in all parts of the country, not just in the major trading parts as they had been in earlier

¹ V. Purcell, "The Chinese in Siam" The Chinese in Southeast Asia (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.115.

centuries. They also moved into prominent social and official positions in Thai society. During the nineteenth century, many Chinese immigrants to Thailand entered trade and commerce, following the patterns or paths of their previous generations. As foreigners the Chinese were never Thai slaves nor were they subject to the corvee system. Being free of obligations under these labor systems, the Chinese could devote all their time to their own business interests and were free to travel in the country. Furthermore, the Thai, traditionally independent, preferred such occupations as farming and fishing. The Chinese went to Thailand with different motives and values. They wanted to make money, save it, and return to China, if possible. The Thai had no such compulsion to save. The result was an accumulation of savings by Chinese and the absence of such savings, necessary to business investments, among the Thai.²

As mentioned earlier in Chapter III, the Chinese in Thailand were particularly prosperous during the reigns of King Rama III, Rama IV, and Rama V, especially during that of King Rama V. He made a public pronouncement in which he stated his attitude toward his Chinese subjects:

It has always been my policy that the Chinese in Siam should have the same opportunities for labor and profit as are possessed by my own countrymen. I regard them not as foreigners but as one of the component parts of the kingdom and sharing its prosperity and advancement.³

² D. Insor, Thailand: A Political, Social and Economic Analysis (New York: Praeger, 1963), pp. 134-139.

³ N. Thompson, The Bangkok Times (February 1935), p. 108.

The Chinese in Thailand enjoyed the rights given by King Rama V, who died in 1910. Vajiravut, one of his sons who was educated in Europe, followed him on the throne as Rama VI. In furtherance of the modernization policy, he put on the statute books a law on surnames in 1913 (the law using surnames was an effort to modernize the country by using a more efficient method of identifying person) and abolished gambling houses throughout the Kingdom. He also established the first university in 1917, as a memorial to his father. Unfortunately for the Chinese people, Rama VI did not favor this minority. Moreover, he had written many books which focused on encouraging Thais to take an active part in the business base of the country and to prevent the Chinese in Thailand from becoming too powerful in the nation. One of his books, a pamphlet on the Chinese entitled, The Jews of the East, encouraged a policy of forced assimilation. This book showed that he was personally hostile to the Chinese. Moreover, there was a law against money-lenders and the Chinese suffered mostly under this law.

The 1919 Private School Act required all alien schools to register; principals had to speak Thai and all alien teachers had to pass a Thai language test within eighteen months of their arrival. Likewise, at least three hours per week had to be devoted to teaching Thai. This act was aimed at mission schools just as much as at Chinese ones, and it was an essential step on the road to compulsory education which became law in 1921.

The 1919 Private School Act was applied with vigour in

Bangkok. Chinese schools, operating as private schools under the 1919 Act, were thus strictly kept within the letter of the compulsory education law. If inspectors found that after several years at a Chinese school students were still unable to read Thai, they concluded that the Thai language was not being taught and the school was closed.

In 1925, King Rama VI died at the age of forty-six and Prajadhipok, his brother, became King Rama VII. On 24 June 1932, the revolution broke out. The Chinese took no positive part in this revolution, which ushered in a new era of constitutional government and which overthrew the absolute monarchy which had governed Thailand for decades. The revolution was achieved by the People's Party, which included the military as well as civilians. Indeed, for the Chinese the 1932 Revolution marked the beginning of additional restrictions. For instance, the government feared the Chinese population's grip on Thailand's economy. Therefore, Chinese immigration into Thailand was limited. In the field of education most of the Chinese schools were closed. At the same time, Chinese immigrants adopted certain customs of Thai society such as the use of Thai words. Intermarriage between Chinese and Thai became well accepted.

Attitude changes in the twentieth century

The Thai authorities offered governorships to the Chinese with high status who lived in the gulf regions of southern Thailand. These officials hoped that they would benefit from the

talents of the Chinese. During the twentieth century, the Chinese constituted the leading families in Thailand. As the Thais became more nationalistic, however, they attempted to weaken the Chinese economic grip on Thai society. The Chinese consequently felt the only way to reach their goals was to enter Thai society. The Thais, likewise, were often interested in using the Chinese to develop their country economically.⁴

Since the Revolution of 1932, Thailand has been governed by a constitutional monarchy with the monarch as Head of State. After 1932, the main share of the education budget was allocated to primary and adult education which focused on literacy. The largest proportion was allocated to the Bangkok area, where the majority of the Chinese live. However, the destiny of the local Chinese also entered a new phase. Before the revolution, they had only to please one master. Henceforth, they have to serve several. As the Thai elite rose and fell in their quick and incessant power struggles, the Chinese entrepreneurs waited with anxiety as new political masters replaced older ones.

The Thai government encouraged the Chinese to adapt to Thai society because it wanted to reduce Chinese economic power. To force assimilation, the Thai government took discriminative actions against the Chinese. For instance, the Thais took the Chinese out of certain job positions and made Chinese entrepreneurs pay higher and different tax rates. Moreover, in

⁴ G.W. Skinner, "Chinese Assimilation and Thai Politics" Journal of Asian Studies XVI (1957): 242.

terms of education, according to Sharma, Chinese schools which gave instruction in the Chinese language and taught Chinese history and culture became one of the strongest supports for maintaining a separate Chinese society. The Chinese children who attended Thai schools, rather than Chinese schools, and learned the Thai language, history and culture tended to be more easily assimilated into Thai society than those children who went to Chinese schools. By the 1930's, a great many Thai with some Chinese ancestors had become Thai in the fullest cultural, social, and political sense. In the area of education, restrictions were placed on the number of hours in which teaching could be done in the Chinese language. Several Chinese schools were closed and others were carefully watched. After World War II, Chinese secondary schools had remained closed. This action was followed by new restrictions on books and teachers in the Chinese elementary schools. All schools had to have Thai principals, and the schools were frequently examined, not only by the Private Schools Division of the Ministry of Education, but by the Ministry of Interior as well.⁵ However, as of this day, according to Maxwell, more students from Chinese families attend higher education, while many Thais are turned away from the universities. Although Chinese students do not have any problem adjusting to Thai society, they are encouraged to assimilate by the Thai government. Chinese and Thais grow up side by side and

⁵ C.L. Sharma, Ethnicity and Education in Thailand 1978, pp. 18-19.

some of them intermarry which is another way to assimilate into Thai society, as well as through the channel of university education.⁶

Historically, the Thai government restricted the Chinese from selling certain key commodities like salt and tobacco. The government also barred the Chinese from certain jobs. In 1940, Luang Phibul Songkhram, a hyper-nationalist, announced to a press conference that the government dropped the assimilation policy toward the Chinese. Phibul also was against civil officials marrying aliens. He said that Thais should marry Thais for their own future happiness. He said if an official married an alien they must have permission.⁷

One of the first moves of Phibul's administration was aimed at Chinese education. Phibul was the prime minister of Thailand, as mentioned before. Lax enforcement of the Private School Act on the part of the preceding administration give him legal justification for a series of school raids and closures during May and June 1948. Arrests of teachers and principals were made, for the most part, on the grounds that public subscription, even for educational purposes, was illegal without government license. At the same time, the Thai government gave further concessions concerning the Thai language examination for Chinese teachers,

⁶ W.E. Maxwell, "The Ethnic Identity of Male Chinese Students in Thai Universities" Comparative Education Review 18 (Feb 1974): 67.

⁷ D.G.E. Hall, A History of Southeast Asia (London: MacMillan, 1960), p. 651.

the selection of textbooks, and the use of Chinese in teaching history and geography and so on. In all these ways, therefore, the government watered down the Chinese aspects of Chinese education with the result that the majority became little more than Thai schools with predominantly Chinese pupils. However, the situation is still one of restriction. Chinese schools have continued to be closed, although it is difficult to obtain accurate figures for Chinese schools.

In April, 1955, Phibul made an extensive tour abroad. After returning home, he suddenly changed his attitude, and in a press conference he announced that the administration planned to give the Chinese rights nearly equal to those of Thai nationals, to encourage Chinese assimilation, and to reduce the alien registration fee. This pronouncement marked the beginning of a new era in the administration's treatment of the Chinese.

In 1957, Phibul was replaced by F.M. Sarit and his policy of anti-communism was replaced by one of economic development. Though fear of China and Chinese has continued to be carefully fostered and anti-communist measures have since 1968 again come to the fore, there has been no to the Chinese immediate threat. However, one group of Chinese businessmen came to associate with Sarit's faction, and another identified with police-Superintendent, Phao. Such factional rivalry, although muted, was evident during the ascendancy of Sarit. It contributed

to the downfall of the top military-political leaders in 1973.⁸ However, later they became a good connection between high ranking government officers and Chinese businessmen and this relationship has been continued up to this day.

Present problems and issues

The status of the Chinese in Thailand has always been fairly high when compared to Chinese in other Southeast Asian countries. In recent years, due to the end of discrimination in education, the Chinese find themselves in an increasingly better position. The dominant trend has gone from cooperation to assimilation. This does not mean that the Chinese and Thais have merged completely, or that there has never been and is not today any prejudice. However, no adequate survey of the current position of the Chinese minority in Thailand is available in the published literature.

An important force in the changing nature of Chinese education is the realization on the part of Chinese parents that success in business comes from the ability to adapt to the Thai cultural milieu. If any second language is to be learned, English is preferred to Chinese. A knowledge of English is needed especially for science and mathematics only because a limited numbers of textbooks have been translated into Thai. In the modern business world of the Thai-Chinese, a Chinese education is

⁸ J.S. Girling, Thailand Society and Policies (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 80.

more of a handicap than an advantage.⁹ However, according to Henderson, for the purpose of technical and scientific development the use of English has become a national language by Thai government. Over 95 percent of the Chinese children attend Thai schools. Education is the main reason the ethnic Chinese adopt the characteristic of the Thai society.¹⁰

The English language was mandatory at one time in the secondary level, but now it is being given as an elective course because most of the students learned how to read it and still did not really understand it. Many of the teachers had problems really understanding the English language. Learning English was limited because of the short supply of English teachers.¹¹

The problems at the secondary level are the universal ones of gearing everything towards examinations. As one government publication pointed out,

The most salient impression that is gained from a cursory observation of teaching methods in Thai schools is the emphasis on learning for the sake of passing examinations. The influence of this point of view pervades the entire educational system...¹²

In the early twentieth century, the Thailand government

9 J. Amyot, Chinese in Thailand (Bangkok, 1966), p. 17. (Mimeographed.)

10 John W. Henderson, et al, Area Handbook for Thailand, 3rd revision (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing office, 1971), p. 145.

11 Ministry of Education, National Report on the Teaching of English in Thailand (Bangkok, 1972), p. 12.

12 Education in Thailand: Secondary Education. Manpower and Educational Planning in Thailand (Thai and English), (Bangkok, 1966), p. 6.

made it very difficult for the Chinese to get an education. The subjects Chinese were allowed to learn through the medium of Chinese were reading, writing, and manners, and those books had to be approved by the Ministry of Education. The Chinese were not allowed to master their own language, Mandarin, nor study any Chinese history. The Thai government wanted the Chinese to learn strictly Thai. To make sure this was done, Thailand's government brought in Chinese teachers from China who had work permits and also had passed Thai examinations. These teachers would teach Thai to the Chinese students for these teachers had already been taught Thai themselves.

For the past decade, the position is still one of restriction under the Thai government. Some Chinese schools have continued to remain closed. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures for the number of Chinese schools in Thailand. However, the texts used are produced under Thai supervision and the maximum time allowed for Chinese instruction is ten hours per week. The majority of Chinese schools outside Bangkok, however, only teach in Chinese for a maximum of six hours per week since they are eligible for government financial assistance under this policy. What is even more telling is that the quality of instruction is often dubious because many of the teachers are Thai-Chinese whose own language and knowledge of Chinese history, geography and culture, let alone Chinese calligraphy, is very limited. Since the restrictions are strictly enforced and since any Chinese headmaster must be under a Thai principal, it is fair to call the

Chinese schools in Thailand, in the 1970s, Thai primary schools that provide some instruction about the Chinese language and culture for a few periods over a period of four years. At the secondary level Chinese is not permitted in the regular curriculum at all, though in at least one school, in southeast Thailand Teochiu was introduced as a language elective in the 1975/76 session because of its usefulness as a business language.¹³

During the past five decades, Chinese education and cultural customs have slowly faded out of Thai society because of the influence of the accelerated westernization of Thailand, along with other countries in Southeast Asia. The Chinese have had to learn the ways of other cultures and also learn to speak another language such as English in order to be successful in their business dealings with people outside of Thailand. The younger generation must also be trained for this situation. The Chinese also teach their children other values outside of their own culture so that if they join the business community, they are able to deal with other cultures and to successful in their business enterprises. The Chinese, however, have not forgotten either their culture or values which are maintained by family arrangements. Thus, there are many people who are Thai citizens but still speak Chinese and identify themselves as Chinese. On the other hand, Thai educational policy has restricted Chinese

13 W. Frank "Some Remarks on Chinese School and Chinese Education in Thailand and Laos" Malaysian Journal of Education (December 1974): 47-52.

education because of social and economic pressures for assimilation. According to Neher, most of the Thais are ambivalent about the Chinese. At the same time, the Chinese have been assimilated by taking Thai names, having their children educated in Thai schools and moving into government jobs as well as intermarrying.¹⁴ Many of the Chinese in Thailand, then, have two cultures, Chinese and Thai. Many of the Chinese children that were born in Thailand consider themselves Thai, even though their parents try to instill Chinese traditions and history into them. Living in Thailand, Thai society is mainly used, while Chinese culture is still used at home.¹⁵

Summary

The Chinese minority in Thailand enjoyed the rights that were given to them by King Rama V. After his death in 1910, the government made life harder for the Chinese, with King Rama VI referring to them as The Jews of the East. He ordered a policy of forcing assimilation. The Chinese were restricted in their occupations and education. When the revolution started in 1932, the Chinese did not participate in it. After the revolution, the Chinese still suffered discrimination in many kinds of jobs and some of their schools were closed. The Thais were forcing the Chinese to adopt Thai culture to foster Chinese assimilation. On

¹⁴ C.D. Neher, "Political Forces in Thailand" A World Affair Journal 83 (December 1984): 419.

¹⁵ W.E. Maxwell, "Ethnic Assimilation in Thai University" Comparative Educational Review 18 (February 1974): 68.

the other hand, at this time, many Chinese, born in Thailand, use Thai names and more Chinese families are admitted into universities, particularly in the departments of medicine and engineering. Likewise, more Chinese are moving into prominent social and official positions in Thai society.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to describe and evaluate the social and educational perspectives of the Chinese minority in Thailand, which is the largest minority in that country. The writer returned to Thailand for two consecutive summers to research and collect data to prepare this dissertation. The socioeconomic status of the Chinese in Thailand has always been fairly high when compared to other Chinese in Southeast Asia. The Chinese in Thailand evolved ways of living and adjusting to a new environment. They organized Chinese schools for their children to obtain both primary and secondary education within the cultural boundaries of the Chinese community. By and large, there have been fewer and less serious problems with the Chinese minority in Thailand than in other Southeast Asian countries. The dominant trend has changed from cooperation with Thai authorities to assimilation in Thai society. This assimilation is continuing and has not yet been completed. The Chinese find themselves in an increasingly better socioeconomic as well as educational position.

The Chinese minority's presence is most obvious in Thailand's economic life, particularly in trade and commerce. Points of conflict between Thais and Chinese have occurred first at the economic sector and then at the social and political level.

However, the trend to assimilation has tended to reduce conflict.

The Chinese immigrants to Thailand historically entered commercial life rather than other areas of endeavor in Thai society. They developed small businesses and over time gained success in the economy. As a result of their economic propensity, some wealthy Chinese rose to high administrative positions, married into nobility, and even became governors. Because of such widespread intermarriage, Chinese blood flowed in the veins of many prominent and countless ordinary families all over the country. Since there was no legal restriction against them, they were free to choose their partners, enter trade and commerce, to clear lands to plant crops and choose their careers.

The Thai government was against Chinese schooling and the government also placed restrictions on having Chinese teachers. The Chinese who wanted to become teachers had to have proper identification in order to be licensed by the Ministry of Education. In order to obtain their certificate, they had to use personal influence for approval of their teaching certificate and license. The certificate was valid for only two years. After two years, if the teacher had not passed the examination from the Thai primary school for a diploma, his or her license could be extended for another two years and but the test had to be retaken again. If the teacher failed the examination a second time, he would not be able to teach in Thailand.¹ Moreover, as Purcell

¹ Coughlin, Double identity : The Chinese in Modern Thailand, pp. 151-52.

pointed out, Chinese teachers have to demonstrate a number of qualifications in order to teach in Thailand. They must live there and be able to prove it with identification. They must also complete some examinations in order to teach. Principals likewise have to complete certain requirements established by the government in order to receive their jobs.²

The Thai government has attempted to reduce the impact of Chinese instruction. More restrictions were added to eliminate Chinese schools and when they failed to follow the regulations they were closed. Although the Thai educational authorities have tolerated Chinese schools, government regulations have reduced their power to preserve Chinese culture and language. By requiring the Chinese teachers to demonstrate proficiency in the Thai language, they have introduced an element of Thai culture. The required instruction in the Thai language for the students in these schools also introduces elements of bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism.

At the present time, Chinese parents eagerly send their children to western-style secondary schools in Bangkok, such as Assumption School and Santa Cruz Convent School run by Christian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, rather than send them to Chinese schools abroad. These private schools instruct in Thai and English but not Chinese. The efforts of the private schools, conducted by western religious groups, have further reduced the

² Purcell, "The Chinese in Siam," The Chinese in South-East Asia, p. 143.

Chinese influence.

Meanwhile, educational authority in Thailand has to give a more practical bias to the content of education. Education must be related to the life of the educand as well as of the community in which he lives, and care must be taken at the same time to prevent the growth of an exaggerated notion of national greatness and of a blind adoration of the past. The heavy cost of trying to realize higher education's various potentialities in meeting social and cultural needs and aspirations cannot be shirked. The cost of quality is undoubtedly high in education as in everything else: the universities can improve themselves, but can do no more than be permitted by the means they are given. However, Chinese youth in the universities are concentrating increasingly in the departments of medicine and sciences. Because they are able to perform well in mathematics and science, they have enjoyed a more prestigious educational position. As Maxwell pointed out, more students from Chinese families were admitted into higher education institutions.³

Thailand now needs more adequate materials, laboratories, universities and especially more qualified teachers. No university will be able to meet its staff requirements and set high standards unless it pays adequate attention to the development of an educational planning program.

What can be said of the Chinese minority in Thailand,

³ Maxwell, "Ethnic Assimilation in Thai University" Comparative Education Review, p. 67.

particularly in the realm of education?

It took a longer time for Thailand to get the Chinese to adopt to the Thai culture. Now, after so long, they have finally learned how to live together in one society and are making that society grow to benefit both cultures. The younger people have no problem adjusting to each others' way of living. The older Chinese are still set in their own cultural ways. The Chinese taught their children to work for independence through their education. If Chinese education had continued developing the way it was, in time the Thais would have lost control of their society to the Chinese because, at the same time, the Chinese were developing successful business enterprises.⁴ However, today, Thailand has one important social policy: everyone should learn to speak the mother tongue, which is spoken by about 85 percent of the population and be taught Buddhism as their religion. This is one of the Thai government's policies to encourage assimilation of all people, regardless of their racial or cultural background.

Higher education in twentieth century Thailand has witnessed a remarkable expansion in all areas and enrollment has increased at a high rate. The major purpose of higher education in Thailand is to prepare students for specific occupations in Thai society and among these students are many Chinese. Because of the increasing assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society,

⁴ M.F.S. Heidhues, "Southeast east Asia's Chinese Minorities" Studies in Contemporary Southeast Asia (London: Langman, 1974), p. 90.

particularly in universities, an extremely large percentage of the Chinese youth will assimilate into Thai society.

The Chinese minority in Thailand are peaceful, hard-working and very industrious people who have tried to adjust themselves to their new land. In fact, however, small through large scale businesses in Bangkok are operated by the Chinese. Outside Bangkok, the Chinese are less numerous but still conspicuous as commercial traders, and everywhere the Chinese dominate transportation and marketing. On the other hand, the Thais are engaged in agriculture all over the country. The development of increased agricultural productivity is a major national goal.

Finally, in terms of education, institutions have still not reached the standards required. For instance, technical skill and scientific education cannot be neglected. The government must take the initiative in the matter of producing suitable textbooks. Well-known scholars should be commissioned to write textbooks and certainly more funds should be allocated to the education sector. Among the educational goals should be the improving of quality, reducing wastage, improving schools in rural areas, and extending non-formal vocational and literacy education. However, this is not only for the Chinese minority but for all people in Thailand. Meanwhile, the Thai educational system is good enough and strong enough to offer Chinese courses as optional ones within the general Thai framework. With the growing rapprochement between Thailand and China, it is possible that such courses may become increasingly available

making Chinese a second language for the Chinese minority. However, at the present time, the Chinese are being assimilated into the Thai culture and it is not easy to identify who is Chinese and who is Thai because of this assimilation. For instance, those Thai politicians who are concerned about the Chinese often find themselves to have Chinese origins.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Government Reports and Document

Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, No. 15, June 1974.

Committee for Century Celebration of the Coronation of King Chulalongkorn. Organization of Education during the Reign of King Rama V. Bangkok: Kurusapha Press, 1968.

Henderson, John W. and others, Area Handbook for Thailand, 3rd revision. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

Middle, J. "Population Education in the Asian Region: A conference on Needs and Directions." Report of the International Conference on Population Education in Asian Region, 1974. Tagtayay City, Philippines: The Development Academy of the Philippines, 1974.

Ministry of Education (Thailand). Education in Thailand: Secondary Education Manpower and Educational Planning in Thailand. Bangkok, Ministry of Education, 1966. (Thai and English)

Ministry of Education. Education Development in Thailand, 1949-66. Bangkok: Report to International Conferences on Public Education Organization by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, 1966.

Ministry of Education. National Report on the Teaching of English in Thailand. Bangkok, Ministry of Education, 1972.

National Family Planning Program, Ministry of Public Health, Family Planning in Thailand 1965-1971. Bangkok: Nai Chalong Kritakom Printer, 1972.

Noss, R. Higher Education and development in South-East Asia. Vol.III Part 2. Franklin, Paris: UNESCO and the International Association of University, 1967.

Population Reference Bureau. 1979 World Population Data Sheet, Thai Embassy, Washington D.C., 1979.

Books

Bush, N.F. Thailand, An Introduction to Modern Siam. New York: the Asia Library, 1959.

- Chu, Valentin. Thailand today: A visit to modern Siam. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1834.
- Coughlin, R.J. Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand. Hongkong: Hongkong University, 1960.
- De Young, J.E. Village life Modern Thailand. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955.
- Echikawa, K. The Assimilation of Chinese in Thailand, Tokyo: Eight Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Science, Science Council of Japan, 1968.
- Edmonds, I.G. Thailand: The Golden Land. Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1972.
- Fairbank, J.K. The United States and China. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Finlayson, G. The Mission to Siam and Hue, the capital of Cochin China in the Years 1821-22. London: Jogn Murry, 1826.
- Fisher, J. Universities in Southeast Asia: An Essay on Comparison and Development. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1961-62.
- Girling, J.S. Thailand Society and Policies. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1981
- Gutek, G.L. and Valenti, J.J. Education and Society in India and Thailand. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1977.
- Hall, D.G.E. A History of Southeast Asia. London: MacMillian, 1960.
- Hallowell, A.I. Culture and Experience. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955.
- Heidhues, M.F.S. South-East Asia's Chinese Minorities, Studies in Contemporary. South-East Asia, Longman, 1974.
- Hughes, E.C. and Hughes, H.M. Where People Meet. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952.
- Hunter, G. South-East Asia Race, Culture, and Nation. Institute of Race Relations, London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Insko, C.A. Theories of Attitude Change. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967.

- Insor, D. Thailand: A political, Social and Economic Analysis. Allen and Unwin, 1963.
- Kallen, H.M. Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960.
- Kent, D.P. The Refugee Intellectual. New York: Columbia University press, 1953.
- Kung, S.W. Chinese in American Life. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1962.
- Landon, K. P. The Chinese in Thailand. New York: Russell and Russell, 1941.
- Lee, R.H. The Chinese in the United States of America. Hongkong: Hongkong University Press, 1960.
- Malakul, Prasarn. Higher Education Expansion in Asia. Hiroshima: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University Japan, 1985.
- Middle, J. "Population Education in the Asian Region: A conference on Needs and Directions." Report of the International Conference on Population Education in Asian Region, 1974, Tagtayay City, Philippines: The Development Academy of the Philippines, 1974.
- Mulder, N. Java - Thailand: A Comparative Perspective. Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983.
- Pastlethwaite, T.N. and Thomas, R.M. School in the Asian Region Hongkong: Heinemann, 1980
- Punyodyana, B. Chinese-Thai Differential Assimilation in Bangkok. Ithaca, New York: Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University, March, 1971.
- Purcell, V. The Chinese in South-East Asia. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Purcell, V. "The Chinese in Siam" The Chinese in South-East Asia. Royal Institute of International Affairs, London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Riggs, F.W. A model for the study of Thai Society. Bangkok: Institute of Public Administration, Thammasat University, 1964
- Sharma, C.L. Ethnicity and Education in Thailand. Mexico City, Mexico: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 010 659, 1987.

- Shibutani, T. and Kwan, K. Ethnic Stratification. New York: Macmillan, 1965.
- Skinner, W. and Kirsch, A.T. Change and Persistence in Thai society: Essays in Honor of Lauriston Sharp. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Skinner, G.W. Chinese society in Thailand: An Analytical History. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957.
- Sorokin, P.A. Social and Cultural Mobility. New York: Free Press, 1964.
- Steward J.H. Theory of Culture Change. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958.
- Taft, R. and Robbins, R. International Migration. New York: Ronald Press. 1955.
- Tatsuoka, M. M. Multivariate Analysis in Educational and Psychological Research. New York: Wiley, 1971.
- Thomas, B. Economics of International Migration. London: Macmillan, 1958.
- Vella, W.F. The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand. University of California Press, 1955.
- Watson, K. Educational Development in Thailand, Hongkong Singapore Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia, 1980.
- Willmott, D.D. The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960.
- Wilson, D. Politics in Thailand. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Wyatt, D.K. Thailand: a Short History. New Haven, London: Yale University, Press, 1984.
- Wyatt, D.K. The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in The Reign of King Chulalongkorn. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1969.

Articles

- Chang, D. "The Current Status of Chinese Minority in South-East." Asia Survey XIII (June 1973).

- Frank, W "Some Remarks on Chinese Schools and Chinese Education in Bangkok and Laos." Malaysian Journal of Education II (December 1974).
- Freedman, M. "Chinese Communities in South-East Asia: A review Article." Pacific Affairs 30, 1958.
- Freyne, H. "The Chinese in Thailand." Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 (Dec 29, 1960).
- Giles, F.H. "Some Gleanings of the Manner and Custom of the Chinese People Reveal in Historical Narrative and Novels." Journal of Siam Society 8, 1927.
- Jiang, J.P.L. "The Chinese in Thailand: Past and Present." Journal of South-East Asian History 7 (March 1966)
- Lee, S.Y. "Double identity: The Thai Chinese." Far Eastern Economic Review, XXII, 1961.
- Maxwell, W.E. "The Ethnic Identity of Male Chinese Students in Thai University." Comparative Education Review 18;1 (Feb, 74)
- Neher, C.D. "Political Forces in Thailand." A World Affairs Journal 83 (December 1984)
- Simekarat, Sawai and Sivaluk, Somsak "Personalism in Thai Public Administration." In the Thai Journal of Social Science, quoted by Morell, "Power and Parliament", (January, 1971)
- Skinner, G.W. "Chinese Assimilation and Thai Politics." Journal of Asian Studies XVI, 1957.
- Thai News, The Royal Thai Embassy, Washington D.C., Friday March 27, 1981.
- Thompson, N. The Bangkok Times February 21, 1935.

Dissertations

- Guskin, A.E. "Changing Identity: The Assimilation of Chinese in Thailand." Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968.
- Kraft, R.J. "Student background, University Admission and Academic Achievement in the Universities of Thailand." Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1968.
- Milligan, Y. "The role of Chinese in Thailand." Master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand, 1967.

Settecton, Random "The problem of population growth in Thailand:
With Emphasis on Food Production and Family Planning."
Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Supha Phinaitrup has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. John M. Wozniak, Director
Professor Emeritus. Educational Leadership and
Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Gerald L. Gutek
Professor. Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Steven I. Miller
Professor. Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Education.

12/2/87
Date

John M. Wozniak
Director's Signature